AN

INQUIRY

INTO THE

JUSTICE AND POLICY

OF AN

UNION

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

WITH AN

ANSWER

TO THE

SUPPOSED "PRACTICABILITY"
OF SUCH A MEASURE,

CONSISTENT

WITH THE WELFARE OF THE LATTER,

IN REPLY TO THE ARGUMENTS OF

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M,DCC,LXXXVII.

ERATA.

Page 24, line 1—for "*aiready*," read *already*.
ibid. — 21—for "*vi ulam*," read *verulam*.
39, — 5—for "*adventitious*," read *advantageous*.
64, — 5 & 6—for "*eacto*," read *facto*.
66, — 20—for "*rebellon*," read *rebellion*.
68, — 4—for "*ſtole*," read *ſtolen*.
72, — laſt—for "*avert*," read *aver*.
81, — 1—for "*after always*," read *be in*.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE text of Mr. Williams's Union, having been altered in the Iriſh edition, and ſeveral paſſages appearing in *Italics*, differing from the London one—the author of the following pages, thinks it neceſſary, for his own exculpation, to ſtate the circumſtances which occaſioned ſuch a miſtake; leſt any unjuſt motive ſhould be attributed to him, of ſtrengthening his own inferences by ſuch a trick, or rendering more conſpicuous, the errors of his opponent.

The ſucceeding work was originally meant to be publiſhed in England, from whence the ſubject originated, but to be printed here;—in order to obviate the many incorrections that muſt neceſſarily have taken place, in a work not immediately under the inſpec-

inſpection of its author;—but Mr. Byrne wiſhing to publiſh an edition of Williams's pamphlet HERE, provided he could procure the Engliſh copy, the author of the preſent INQUIRY, gave him his, as he had marked it with a pen under thoſe paſſages which appeared to him exceptionable; and the printer concluding they were meant for *Italic* lines, inſerted them ſo.

The publication of Williams's Union *here*, was alone the cauſe which induced the author of the following work, to publiſh his ANSWER in Ireland, and the error committed, inadvertent on his part, and entirely the fault of the [illegible] poſer.

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN the preſs teems with publications, and each day gives birth to ſome literary adventurer, the ſentiments of an obſcure individual may, perhaps, meet the eye of the public, and gain that candid peruſal, which the nature of the ſubject, more than the genius of its author, demands for it.

That an UNION was the bold project for Britain's aggrandizement, the coy reſerve,—the frigid circumſpection of her miniſters, gave the boding mind to ſuſpect: the PLAUSIBLE ACCOMMODATION of an Iriſh Secretary, was well adapted to cover the deſign;—the nation muſt be taken by ſurprize, and that too, conducted by gradual undermining and ſecret treachery:—no man was as yet found, bold enough to hazard an attack; warm tempers, jealous of their rights, would be rouzed at the firſt alarum,

and rush to the onset;—the pressure of calamity is less severe at a distance,—a gradual approach is not so apt to intimidate;—the people's minds were in a ferment, and directed to other concerns:——this was a period, as well as a pretext, to invade their constitution:—* musty volumes were dug up, after an inglorious slumber of almost a century, and re-printed with haste, to supply hints and convey information to the friends of Government;—this was a secret transaction, and few were apprized of its intent; it was but as a revival of literature and † the author of Crusoe was worthy a new edition of that work, which helped Scotland to SO MANY BLESSINGS.

At length a champion is found resolute enough to enter the lists, and ‡ "ACADEMIC SHADES,"

* Daniel De Foe's history of the Union between England and Scotland, re-published in 1786.

† And of Robinson Crusoe.—Vide his life, annexed to the former work.

‡ John Williams, Esq. late of Merton College, Oxon, author of "The Constitutional Guide," and "Practicability "of an Union between Great Britain and Ireland."—Vide title to this work.

SHADES," give the political world, a new adventurer;—a "*Conſtitutional Guide*," under a pompous title page, and freſh armorial bearings obtrudes himſelf on the public; and "*Merton College*," his "ALMA MATER," is announced, the foſtering mother of this young Alcides.——A voluminous title page hangs out a direful portent, and the reader, prepared for the *great things*, that are to follow, ſtands raiſed on tip-toe, in breathleſs expectation—the meteor ſinks—and the bewildered wanderer finds this ready "*guide*", an Ignis Fatuus.

I confeſs, I was deceived in the opinion I had formed, and dreaded ſomething more formidable to the intereſts of my country, from the "*practicable*" certainty, of promiſed "*proof*;" but I had reckoned without "MINE "HOST," and at length diſcovered, that this promiſe of "*beneficial and conſtitutional means* "*of removing complaints*," was nothing more than the vehicle, in which this quack conveyed his boluſſes.

This author has ſhielded himſelf from animadverſion, in ſome ſort, by the genera-

lity of his poſitions; and a palpable miſtatement of facts, has rendered him in a great meaſure, an object little worthy of anſwer or refutation;—but, at a time when the inſidious policy of a few, ſeems to threaten a deadly blow at the welfare of the nation; when crafty deſign prepares to ſteal unnoticed on the unſuſpecting weakneſs of the people, and develope a ſyſtem, injurious to their intereſts; an INQUIRY into the meaſure,—its tendency and conſequences, cannot be ill-timed, or nugatory.

In the contemplation of ſuch a ſubject, where the attention is called off to ſo many objects, and the judgment (diſtracted by ſuch a variety of matter) cannot accurately follow, through their ſeveral claſſes, all that either directly, or incidentally occurs; I confeſs, to arrange my ideas under diſtinct heads, and purſue each principle that preſents itſelf, through its innumerable ſubdiviſions, would lengthen the preſent undertaking to a voluminous extent—weary the attention of the reader, and involve its author in boundleſs difficulties.

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The relative ſituation of the two countries as they now ſtand,—their preſent ſimilarity and connection—thoſe obvious diſtinctions which create a diſparity—and how an UNION of them would advance or deſtroy, the well-being of either, ſhall be the object of my preſent inquiry :—with an anſwer as to the "*practicability*" of ſuch a meaſure, conſiſtent with the welfare of Ireland.

Thus I ſubmit to the public the haſty production of a very few weeks, which profeſſional avocations have ſpared, for the good of my country : the Reviewers, ſhould they deign to peruſe it—may, perhaps, condemn, or critic ſpleen find many errors ; the ſhort ſpace allotted and the extenſive nature of the ſubject, denied it a claim to perfection ;—infallibility is not an attribute for man,—and he is a bad one, who can make no allowance for the miſtakes of humanity.

AN

A N

INQUIRY, &c.

NO ſubject of greater national concernment, no meaſure of more conſtitutional import, more injurious to the intereſts of the one kingdom, and leſs inimical to the pre-eminence of the other, could perhaps be conceived or attempted, than an UNION between GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.

Scarcely freed from the reſtrictions which bound her, and bleeding yet from penal inflictions, Ireland can ill cope with the genius of Britain, in arts—manufacture—or commerce;

commerce; thoſe acquirements which give ſplendor and wealth, and render HER formidable in the eyes of Europe, are here, but in their infancy;—a parity of ſtrength and dominion are both wanting, to conſtitute an UNION: with a formidable navy to protect her trade; an army, her coaſts; wealth—credit—and induſtry, to enlarge her commerce; the power of England is a dead weight, in the ſcale of intereſts. Can Ireland lighten HER national debt, already groaning under an enormous penſion liſt?—Broken by taxation, muſt ſhe ſwell the volume of revenue laws, with freſh impoſitions?—Can a nation, in every reſpect ſo inferior, attract the generoſity of her ſiſter, to an equal partnerſhip, with a firm ſo inadequate?——Trained, by uninterrupted and ſucceſsful commerce, to a jealous monopoly, would ſhe relinquiſh her acquirements to enrich another?——Unreaſonable and abſurd ſuppoſition!—Upon ſuch terms there could be no reciprocity, and the fair concluſion muſt be, that Ireland would be the loſer.

Since

Since the invaſion of Britain by the Romans, England has gradually advanced in commerce and refinement; the imperial ſeat of Government, amidſt all her acquiſitions, has never been changed.—" *To be a* " *great State* (ſays the Abbé Raynal) *the* " *centre and the ſeat of power muſt be in the* " *State itſelf*;---*nothing but the deſpotiſm of the* " *Eaſt can inure men, to receive their laws* " *from rulers far remote, or from the Baſhaws,* " *by whom inviſible tyrants are repre-* " *ſented.*"—Subject to no tyrannic or avaricious Viceroy, the upſtart delegate of diſtant power, the eye of Majeſty ſaw the national improvement through every department—viewed the growing luſtre of the ſtate, and planned ſyſtems to augment its ſplendor The father of his people became the patriarch of each family, and felt his own augmented, by their conſequence:—Alliances were formed to ſtrengthen and protect the growing traffic, and Europe beheld her Albion the emporium of commerce: ſhe became leſs warlike, as more rich, and a naval power ſerved chiefly to protect the merchant's wealth; ſucceſsful induſtry gave birth

birth to independence—each individual, now, had ſomething to ſecure from arbitrary diſpoſal, and Magna Charta made the people the benefactors of their monarch,—now no longer the active principle, that moved the great machine: Parliaments granted money and voted ſupplies—the prince was alone executive—dependant on his people.

To illuſtrate the ſyſtems that govern and direct a nation's views—or unravel that policy, which connects every part, would be foreign to my purpoſe; ſuffice it to ſay, the people now, govern by their repreſentatives, and they ſhould not ſacrifice the intereſts of their conſtituents;—the hereditary nobility too ſhould be jealous of their rights, and ſuffer no encroachment to abridge their power: this holds equally good, as to both nations. But as every human inſtitution has its defects, and plans moſt wiſe fall ſhort in execution,—the noble ſtructure of our conſtitution has fallen to decay;—the juſt balance of power which regulated the whole is no more; factious tumult and oppoſition diſtract the ſenate. The Miniſter! an eſtate heretofore, nor known

known, nor recognized—with the ſtrength of the crown in his hand, and the people's money in his pocket, eager to advance the party that protects him—or grateful to the power by which he was raiſed, will ſtrive to augment its wealth and importance, and be eager to coerce a rival kingdom. The DISINTERESTED GENEROSITY OF A STATE is a ſoleciſm in politics; the principles that ennoble and exalt human nature, and give the private man an honourable diſtinction, blended and confuſed amidſt a multitude, loſe all their virtues;—the law of the trader is a principle of gain; liberality is the bane of commerce;—a partial monopoly muſt enrich, and will he forego the profit? Will the feeble cries of an oppreſſed people eſtrange him from habitual advantages?—Wealth has made him proud, and the name of freeman, has not diminiſhed his arrogance; poverty is loathſome, and idleneſs a reproach: accuſtomed to deſpiſe the wretches he has oppreſſed, their ſtruggles are hateful, leſt theſe ſtruggles ſhould liberate: he prepares new ſhackles—he forges new chains—they muſt be menials in his family—his frown will reſtrain, and keep them dependant:—

ſuch

ſuch too often is the conduct of individuals —and the invariable rule of practice in commercial ſtates. I mean not to depreciate a body of people reſpectable throughout Europe—nor caſt a ſtain on national characteriſtic:—had Ireland been fated the birthright of privilege, and inheritance of wealth, the ſame views (no doubt) had grown up, and augmented with her;—but the bright rays of refinement ſhone firſt on Britain, and Ireland muſt await their ſetting ſplendor, in her weſtern horizon ——Bleſſed with a ſoil and climate propitious to agriculture, a ſtarving peaſantry ſink beneath the preſſure of lordly ABSENTEES, who, allured by the blandiſhments of luxury, ſquander abroad, what rapacious and unjuſt ſtewards have wrung from their tenantry at home.

With a ſituation and bearing adapted to external trade, open to the great Weſtern Ocean, and fanned by every breeze that ruffles the Atlantic; the tantalizing temptations to wealth preſent themſelves, but Ireland is forbidden to enjoy them. In vain the merchant toils;—he wants a capital;—

in

in vain his exports emulate the Britiſh;—their credit weighs him down: frequent failure and clamorous neceſſity demand a quick return:—exchange is againſt him, and the credit England gives reduces his markets * NINE-TENTHS in their value. 'Till within a very † FEW YEARS, his colonial and plantation imports, have arrived circuitouſly through the medium of Britain, under all the diſadvantages of double freight, cuſtom-houſe fees, inſurances, &c. nor was it till the 22d of the preſent King, that the bounty of England permitted us to export freely our Weſt Indian produce—a generous indulgence! when the nation was bankrupt, exhauſted by a long war, the pompous donation of a FREE TRADE was held forth as the return for blood and treaſure ſo laviſhly beſtowed, and the eager fanaticiſm of the multitude (unuſed to ſuch a ſound) loſt in the blaze of public rejoicing, all ſenſe of the empty bauble that was offered.———I confeſs

* The difference between the markets is as *ten* to one.

† From the 15th Car. II. till the 20th Geo. III. none of the produce of the Britiſh colonies or plantations could be imported into Ireland—but through Great Britain.

confeſs I am apt to ſuſpect all proffered bounties from a rival:

"*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*"

The rejection of the Commercial Propoſitions, as framed by the Iriſh parliament, and the ferment they raiſed in the minds of the Engliſh (as appears from the remonſtrances of their Chamber of Commerce) give me no very favourable opinion of their DISINTERESTED CONDUCT and attachment to this country. Addreſſes flew about from every quarter; the miniſter was beſieged with clamour and complaint; ſtocks tottered; and the Royal Exchange reſounded with lament and affright:—the Athenian people were not more alarmed for their liberties, on the approach of Philip;—than theſe merchants for their gains, by this proffered treaty:—theſe tumults prevailed, and the moſt ſcandalous perverſion of meaning rendered thoſe dreaded propoſitions, perfectly palatable. This recent indignity warmed the Iriſh;—reſentment atchieved what eloquence could not have obtained, and the GENTLE ACQUIESCENCE of the Secretary forbore to FORCE them on the people.

I have

I have thought this detail ſomewhat neceſſary, in order to throw a faint light on that policy which, in the ſupreme ſtate, enacts laws for its own internal governance and advancement, without paying any regard to its diſtant and dependant provinces, apparently ſo, as they lean on it for protection and ſupport.

The feeble and heretofore, helpleſs ſtate of this country diſſeminated reports of her * SUBJECTION, and the notion prevailed until it had almoſt grown authentic; fiction gathers ſtrength as it goes, "*Vires acquirit* "*eundo*," and nothing but the dereliction of the appellant juriſdiction on the part of England and a repeal of Poynings' law, could have left any further room to doubt the conqueſt, dependance, and vaſſalage of this iſland.

The ſame in SOVEREIGNTY, RELIGION, LAWS, ALLIANCES, and LANGUAGE; what cloſer

* By the 6th Geo. I. ch. 5th it is declared, that "Ireland "ought to be ſubordinate to and dependant upon, the impe- "rial crown of Great Britain, as being inſeparably united "thereto,"—which is declaratory of the 10th Henry VII. called Poynings' Law.

closer connection can exist between us? Would an UNION OF PARLIAMENTS add one atom to their force or extent; or how conduce to the welfare of either, than perhaps, by depressing the one by the other's despotism, and forcing us to burst through a compact entered into in violation of our liberties, and confirmed without our approbation? When the people of Privernum had broken through their fœderal union with the Romans, and the Senate, deliberated what punishment to inflict, the voice of Freedom burst forth in these words:——† "*An credi posse ullum, aut hominem denique, "in ea conditione cujus eum pœniteat, diutius "quam necesse sit mansurum?—Ubi pacem esse "fidam, ubi voluntarii pacati sint, neque eo loco, "ubi servitutem esse velint, fidem sperandum esse.*" ——Fatal experience has taught us, that revolutions have always been cemented with blood. How dangerous to attempt any, not entirely approved of, and for the welfare of the people! The temper of the times is ill adapted to so rash a measure, which would increase the ills complained of, to an alarming magnitude, and plunge this country in poverty

† T. Livius, Dec. 1st, lib. 8—§ 21, 22.

poverty and wretchedneſs. The CROWNS, though diſtinct, are united on one brow, and the King of Ireland, is Sovereign of Great Britain. The fond partialities, the warm affections of a loyal people, true to their Prince and ſworn to allegiance, ſurround his throne, with grateful fidelity, ready to fight his battles and grant him ſupplies: the tumult of the repining, ſhould not be held forth as the levy of revolt, nor the cries of the oppreſſed as the clamour of ſedition.—No raſh invaſions to aid PRETENDED uſurpers, have ever been undertaken, nor ſtubborn faction, as elſewhere, ſo frequent waved the ſtandard of rebellion: religious diſcord threw the flaming torch that kindled animoſity, and fond, though partial attachment armed, to aid an ABDICATED MONARCH;—the ſucceſſion has long been eſtabliſhed, and Ireland never claimed a right to regal nomination. The feudal ſyſtem, in Scotland, armed HER haughty chieftains, puffed up with national dignity, and backed by obſequious vaſſalage to cope with England—a fatal neighbourhood incited to frequent and bloody incurſion and the borders of each were laid waſte in their

turns;—Edward * firſt projected an Union, at his conqueſt of that country, and aſſumed the title of King of Great Britain—but the deſign failed, by the death of the † Maid of Norway, and was not reſumed till ‡ the acceſſion of James the VI. of Scotland to the Crown of England, who had no other view than of uniting all his kingdoms to the Church of Rome. But I am not writing an hiſtorical detail of a Scotch Union, and muſt refer ſuch as are curious on that head, to De Foe's hiſtory of it—it is ſufficient for me to ſhew that we are not correlative with them. Their neighbourhood—feudal ſyſtem—rebellious ſpirit, and lawleſs invaſions made it neceſſary for the ſafety, peace, and tranquility of England, to ſubdue and then unite them; the Scots inſiſted on a conjunction of Parliaments and not an incorporation, and England would not liſten to a propoſal ſo inimical

* A. D. 1286.—Buchan fol. 245.

† Edward propoſed a match between his ſon and Margaret of Norway, heireſs to the Crown of Scotland—but ſhe died on her paſſage through fatigue, and the project died with her.

‡ A. D. 1604.

cal to her intereſts in church affairs. Theſe ſtubborn demands protracted the Union till the reign of Queen Anne; when that project was completed, which Cromwell, in 1664, thought ſo neceſſary to preſerve his conqueſt, and which was emphatically called an "UNION OF SUBJECTION." That deep politician well knew, that valour alone was inſufficient to curb the deep-rooted enmities of that nation, ready to break out on every opportunity; enmities which have hardly ſince been totally eradicated, when even their treaties were carried on with a reſolution of renewed war, and bloody hoſtility ſucceeded their every infraction. Nature had placed no barrier to repulſe them, and the feeble * ſubſtitute of art now mouldering to decay, reſtrained not their devaſtations.—Theſe hardy Northerns, unbroke to the manage, could not be reined in, and the laſt rebellion has evinced how very feeble are the reſtrictions of policy, towards the removal of hereditary hate. The haughty principles of high church government, ſo

 inimical

* The Picts wall which divided England and Scotland.

inimical to epiſcopacy, called loudly for controul, and royal martyrdom claimed ſome ſacrifice, to expiate its wounded immunities. The blood of anointed majeſty (an human oblation offered up at the ſhrine of bigotry, by wild fanaticiſm) produced that revolution, which, without changing the religion of Scotland, has ſecured the crown from future violation.

The ESTABLISHED RELIGION has taken root in Ireland, and all offices under government, both civil and military, are with-held from all who diſſent from it, and only thoſe within its pale, can hold places of truſt or profit; even the privileges of a freeholder are denied to ſuch as reject its tenets, and the Parliament are the repreſentatives of proteſtant electors. What neceſſity then requires an UNION?—in RELIGION we are the ſame; will Popery decreaſe? far from it;—abridged of the few ſmall bounties they enjoyed from commerce, and denied the countenance and ſupport of their wealthy landlords, exaction will be added to the oppreſſion of ſtewards and tithe-proctors, and the miſerable band muſt ſeek, in

ſome

ſome diſtant clime, the indulgence of their faith, and the rewards of their induſtry. Decreaſed indeed, in population, the land will ſend its ſons, to ſeek an home acroſs a waſte of ocean, and augment a growing republic. America, the receptacle of outlawed ruffians, and tranſport felons, extends her arms to receive the band of fugitives, and ſtrengthened by their force, ſhakes off maternal authority. The exaction of unjuſt dues, and the oppreſſion of abſentee landlords, drove the Hearts of Oak to America—by augmenting the grievances, you will deſolate the land, or drown it with ſlaughter.—The penal ſtatutes which aggrieved TWO-THIRDS of the people, are not entirely repealed, and aggravated diſtreſs inflames the multitude. To make ſtatutes, enacted in times of groſs ignorance and bias, when the judgments of men were but emerging from ſuperſtition and eccleſiaſtical ſlavery, a rule of right, is to fetter the free mind in the trammels of obſolete prejudice and error, and deſtroy thoſe maxims of prudence and diſcretion, which ſhould guide men in enacting

enacting laws for the welfare and preſervation of ſociety. If payment of TITHE is an "*equitable due*" for the ſupport of the Miniſtry of the Eſtabliſhed Church; if policy requires a conformity to its principles, and ſyſtem is neceſſary for the preſervation and health of the conſtitution; if that ſyſtem holds forth and adopts a ſalutary ſupply for the exigencies and drains of the ſtate, by protecting within its pale, men of a different perſuaſion, is it juſt or equitable, that inſtead of conciliating by lenient modes a conformity to its acts, we wring from an impoveriſhed peaſantry, whoſe conſcience and principles forbid them to conform, a TENTH of their all to maintain a clergy, made more obnoxious to them, by ſuch exactions? And ſtill to add rigour to the law, in caſe they pay not their quota—the MERCIFUL FORBEARANCE!—the MILD LENITY of toleration! compulſatively enacts double or treble damages, for every ſuch default. Where a juſt debt is due, by law, the debt alone can be recovered, together with the coſts and charges of the ſuit; for, were rigid inflictions the conſequence of injuſtice and fraud, the fallibility of human

human ordination would oftener be proved —deſign would lay ſnares for the innocent, —the POSSIBLE riſk would be leſs, in proportion to the PROBABLE gain; and, at the beſt, litigation would increaſe with ſo raſh a remedy. How cruel and unjuſt, therefore, are ſuch proceedings, where ſcruple is a plea, and when even deluſion ſhould be a ground for forbearance! Previous to the reformation, (during nonconformity) excommunication alone was inflicted, but the preſent generation, grown wiſer, lays a lure for the fraudulent magiſtrate, to exact TENFOLD; the wretched ſufferer is forced, "*to ſet-out the tenth*" of his property, and contrary to every eſtabliſhed rule of law and equity turn accuſer and criminate himſelf.

I have unwittingly been hurried into this digreſſion from the conſideration of religious tenets, operating on an UNION, which they undoubtedly could not, according to the preſent ſyſtem of government, where the ſame eſtabliſhment connects us with Britain. The Roman Catholic power, though ſo much more numerous, can have no influence

ence in the ſtate, and even if a revolution ſhould take place, it could not affect it.

To draw political inferences from religious diſagreements, is unwarrantable in ſound argument; * The Catholics have been ſtigmatized for tenets they did not hold—ſuſpected in their allegiance, becauſe ſubordinate (in ſpirituals) to Papal controul, and branded with accuſations of perjury, for ſwearing fealty to "*temporal authority*," becauſe they believe in the "REAL PRESENCE," have "SEVEN SACRAMENTS," and go to "CONFESSION." "*No faith is to be kept with Heretics!*"—Bluſh, toleration! for opinions ſo adverſe to humanity, and remember, that when England, held at bay by all the world, was inſulted by her Colonies, and attacked in every quarter of the Globe by a combination of foes; when every point of the compaſs wafted the ſound of

* Vide the LORD BISHOP OF CLOYNE's charges againſt them, and "DR. BUTLER's JUSTIFICATION," a work written in the true ſpirit of Chriſtian meekneſs and benevolence—fraught with plain matter of fact, in ample refutation of the illiberal falſhoods of his antagoniſt, breathed with ſuch a fiery zeal, and intolerant ſpirit of perſecution.

of ſlaughter and defeat; and her empire was threatened with hoſtile invaſion—Ireland armed, and CATHOLICS prepared to ſtay the pride of Bourbon.—" AND YOU, MY LORD !——

" *Whoſe* SEE *is by a civil peace maintain'd,*
" *Whoſe beard, the ſilver hand of* PEACE *hath*
" *touch'd,*
" *Whoſe* LEARNING *and good letters peace hath*
" *tutor'd,*
" *Whoſe* WHITE INVESTMENTS *figure innocence.*
" *The dove and very bleſſed ſpirit of peace;*
" *Wherefore do you ſo ill* TRANSLATE *yourſelf*
" *Out of the ſpeech of* PEACE—*that bears ſuch*
" GRACE
" *Into the harſh and boiſterous tongue of war?*
" *Turning your books to graves, your ink to blood,*
" *Your pens to lances, and your tongue divine,*
" *To a loud trumpet and a point of war?*"

Are

Are theſe the returns of gratitude to a people for their protection and ſupport?—Are theſe the ſentiments of a MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL towards the SERVANTS OF CHRIST?—Are theſe the liberal doctrines of true piety—to breathe the accents of invective, and foment ſedition?——God forbid that ſuch ſlanders ſhould prevail to the ſtain of manhood! or that EPISCOPAL malignity ſhould commit a people with their governors! !—I am no Papiſt—but a friend to toleration and humanity, a warm advocate for the liberties of conſcience and my country, and a ſteady foe to rebellion and diſloyalty;—as ſuch I muſt condemn an UNION, in general, that could neither advance conformity of worſhip, or increaſe the liberties of the people, but ſubvert every tie of duty and allegiance.

Sir Edward Coke, and the politicians of his day, found many difficulties in forwarding the projected UNION with Scotland, which was not effected till 1707, and then with a proviſo, that overturned the ground and foundation of that great lawyer's opinion—

nion—* "*that an union of laws is the beſt* "*means for the union of countries,*"—for the municipal or common law of England is of no force there, and the twenty-five articles leave that country in the enjoyment of their antient juriſprudence. The inhabitants of Ireland, on the contrary, for the moſt part deſcended from Engliſh who ſettled there about the reign of Henry II. † received and ſwore to the laws of England, at their aſſembly at Liſmore. King John, in the twelfth year of his reign, (Vaughan tells us) ordained, "*de communi omni de Hibernia* "*conſenſu,*" that Ireland ſhould be governed by the laws of England.—‡ "*Una et eadem* "*lex eſſe debet, tam in regno Angliæ quam* "*Hiberniæ—Terra Hiberniæ inter ſe habet* "*Parliamentum et omni modas curias prout in* "*Anglia, et per idem Parliamentum facit* "*leges et mutat leges, et illi de eadem terra* NON "OBLIGUNTUR PER STATUTA IN AN-"GLIA, *quia non habent milites Parliamenti.*"

Such

* Firſt Inſtitute 141, A.——

† Pryn on Fourth Inſtitute.

‡ Trin. 13th Edward III.

Such was the ſubſtance of an ordinance paſſed in the reign of Edward III. and unanimouſly agreed to, by which the common law of England was made the ſtandard of Iriſh juſtice, and in the fortieth year of the ſame King, at a Parliament holden at Kilkenny, Lionel Duke of Clarence being then Lieutenant, the Brehon Laws (ſo called from the name of the Iriſh Judges) were aboliſhed, as being "*no laws*," but a "*lewd* "*cuſtom.*" So that ſince the repeal of the infamous Law of Poynings', and * the act declaratory of it, the 13th of Edward is in "*ſtatu quo*," a charter of Iriſh independence, and authentic memorial; that CONQUEST is a term miſapplied to VOLUNTARY SUBJECTION.——An UNION OF LAWS, therefore, would be both abſurd and nugatory, when the meaſure of juſtice is the ſame, and life and property ſecured, by one uniform ſtandard; ſome trifling variations, I admit, exiſt, which the internal policy of the ſtate ſufficiently warrants, and ſhould they

* Sixth George I. ch. 25. The legiſlative power of Great Britain over Ireland, and alſo the appellant juriſdiction, is repealed by 22d George III. ch. 53—and 23d George III. ch. 28.—

they be found injurious or defective, a power is lodged already in the legiſlative body, to repeal or amend—and an Act of Parliament can, at any time, ſuſpend the operation of an eſtabliſhed rule of law. But I am not writing a commentary, and an analyſis of thoſe diverſities would be both pedantic and foreign from the preſent undertaking. The * ſtatute that made murder high treaſon, in Ireland, remains unrepealed, a principle of law in this kingdom, and the circumſtances that pointed out its neceſſity, were held ſufficient to warrant its continuance, a circumſtance that argues, more fully, than words can convey, that a diſcretionary power ſhould be lodged in the ſtate itſelf, to advance and protect its internal government: what thoſe circumſtances were, the author of a "*Reading*" on that act, has, lately, both learnedly and ingeniouſly unravelled and proved. But by an act of UNION, thoſe miſchiefs and oppreſſions from which we have ſo recently been liberated, would again be let looſe to ravage and deſtroy. So little noticed already

* Tenth Henry VII.

aiready in TREATIES of ALLIANCE and COMMERCE, what advantage could we expect when blended and confuſed with the policy of Great Britain? Portugal has evinced the contempt with which ſhe looks down upon us, unaided by a national power to enforce our agreements;—and England, how little ſhe regards our welfare, when contraſted with her own.

Our LANGUAGE, to be ſure, would gain conſiderable ornament and poliſh from the ſmooth ſtile of Britain, and our illiterate peaſants, taught † THE MELODY OF SPEAKING, chaunt their "*Ave Marias*" in flowing numbers—though different in dialect ("*uni-*" "*us labii*") of one tongue; and the brogue of Connaught, diveſted of its whangs, might graceful amble in a Cockney ſlipper.——Such were the contemptible ſhifts to which the writers of the laſt century were driven to ſupport an UNION, and even the great Virulam deſcended to quibble upon words, and in ſupport of his maxim ("*vis* "*unita fortior*") ranſacked ſyſtems of philoſophy

* Vide Walker's Melody of Speaking, London edition.

phy to prove that, " * *liquors putrify in ſmall* " *quantities, but in large, ſubſiſt, by reaſon of* " *their unity.*"——What wretched arguments are uſed, when fawning flattery ſtrives to pleaſe a pedant monarch!——The obvious diſtinctions that preſent themſelves, on the preſent theme, militate directly againſt the meaſure—and an UNION could neither remove, nor leſſen the diſparity. Different as to CONTINENT, STRENGTH, WEALTH, PROTECTION, and COMMERCE: Nature herſelf has drawn a barrier between us; an arm of ocean divides the ſea-girt ſiſters—a powerful interceſſor! and providence ſeems to have allotted to theſe iſlands, ſeparate empires—great were the ſtruggles to ſupport this allotment,—more numerous forces and better diſcipline declared for England the rival pre-eminence; and Ireland has been taught to look up to her power for maintenance and protection;—but when conqueſt crowned her arms, and ſpread wide her dominion, though drained of her beſt blood, was Ireland a partaker? —When enriched by ſplendid acquiſition, did

* Bacon's letter to King James, touching the Union.

did Britiſh liberality relieve our ſtarving manufacturers?——When invaſion hovered round our coaſt, did her fleets expand the banner of protection?——When exertion and induſtry failed, and the ſhuttle, in deſpair, was relinquiſhed, was monopoly forgotten? Did England grant us then PROTECTING DUTIES?

Let facts ſpeak for themſelves——She drained our land of its wealth—of its ſoldiers and mariners—the riches of a nation are its inhabitants.

She ſent her hungry mendicants to fatten on our ſoil, and her penſioned hirelings to drain our treaſury.

She armed a ſolitary frigate to cruize along the channel, and left our merchantmen a "*Letter of Marque*" to protect them from French capture.

She gave us impoſt for indulgence, prohibition for a Free Trade, and rejected our COMMERCIAL PROPOSITIONS;—omitted to name us in her treaty with France, and

now meditates an UNION to reſtore our ſhattered conſtitution. Unhappy country! ſtill the ſport of deſign and complotting, ONE ONLY meaſure is wanting to ſwell the black catalogue of your diſtreſs and oppreſſion!

From ſo ungracious an enumeration, is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe that our intereſts would be attended to in future negociations and treaties? or that the ſtrength of the nation would increaſe in power and population? Without a communication of power, there can be no communication of government; without a communication of government, there can be none of trade, and without that communication of trade, neither wealth or importance. That power muſt reſt in the centre of the ſtate, and all protection flow from it, and the welfare of a diſtant and dependant kingdom or province, muſt always yield to the immediate and preſſing concerns of the Supreme Diſpenſer.

When the exigencies of Great Britain prepared to lay heavy impoſitions on her Colonies, and exact a pliant acquieſcence,

conſcious of her own internal advantages, and ready to exert them, ſhe flew to arms. The MAJESTY OF ENGLAND was not to be inſulted, and coercion muſt be uſed to reſtore obedience. The rights of humanity were forgotten; liberty was peculiar to Engliſhmen—a charter of monopoly! and its aſſertion elſewhere an infraction of obedience: the brand of rebellion was affixed to aid her chaſtiſements, and the Tranſ-Atlantics, denied the rights of ſubjects, in deſpair, threw off the yoke of ſubjection.—They are now free and independent, and Ireland muſt ſupply the deficiency by a ready ſubmiſſion.—There will be no need for armed battalions and hoſtile preparation; reſiſtance will be of no avail;—depopulation and famine will anticipate the bloody prelude, and deprecate the vengeance of the devouring ſword.

IF THE WEALTH, POWER AND PROSPERITY OF A NATION CONSISTS IN THE NUMBER, DISPOSITION AND EMPLOYMENT OF ITS INHABITANTS, what muſt be the miſerable ſtate of a country rendered diſſolute and idle for want of employ, and abandoned

abandoned in deſpair, becauſe its people are unable to pay the rigorous demands of heavy impoſition? If England allots the meaſure of taxation, Ireland muſt ſink under it: it is already too diſproportionate to her TRADE and MANUFACTURES; the former is low, unaided by bounties, from want of credit and capital, when the needy exporter is forced to conſume the ready return of profit, to ſuſtain his exiſtence; the latter has much decreaſed from the ſuperior genius and induſtry of England, prompted to exert the one by patent and encouragement, and ſtimulated to the other by ready employ and certain wages; bleſſings which the Iriſh artificer muſt want whilſt his titled landlord oppreſſes—his craving employer is in arrear, and the rapacious collector ſeizes on his all. What can he do? Staggered in his hopes, and preſſed ſore on all ſides, the temporary oblivion his whiſkey gives, enfeebles his body, and brings laſſitude to his mind. Hence the reproach of inebriation and idleneſs on a laborious people; hence the ſqualid miſery of our peaſantry, their roofleſs hovels, ſcanty fare, and frequent emigration; their ferocity, ignorance, and imputed

barbariſm, at which England points the finger in deriſion, and eſteems them but as the herd on whoſe food they fatten. What, but extreme wretchedneſs could drive the Iriſh cottager from his home, a voluntary tranſport to a diſtant continent? What, but the pangs of deſpair, and the wrings of famine, could expoſe him to the ſcorn and contempt of his opulent neighbours? Forced, at the approach of ſummer, to forſake his harveſt, to gather in the full ear for Engliſhmen, and glut upon their offal. Want of employ muſt impoveriſh the nation, where there is no increaſe of ſupply and daily conſumption is not diminiſhed to the few who remain in it; but when the thouſands, we thus annually export, help to rid the nation of ſo much money, and enrich the people with whom they ſpend it. Concluding, therefore, THAT THE POWER AND RICHES OF A STATE DEPENDS ON THE NUMBER OF ITS INHABITANTS—a poſition, I know, which has been diſputed by able politicians and learned philoſophers. When the names of * Franklin and Price are ſigned to this proteſt,

* Vide Dr. Price's obſervations on civil liberty and Mr. Howlet's defence of his pamphlet on population, Gent. Mag. November,

proteſt, thereſpectability of ſuch authorities gives their doctrines a ſemblance of juſtice, and the man who is hardy enough to take up the controverſial gauntlet, has much prejudice to ſurmount:—abler pens than mine have been wielded in defence of this ſimple propoſition, and ſome conceſſions have been drawn from its opponents, which ſtrengthen and embolden me. Too general obſervations, like the flood, carry down with their current, each minute particular, the lighter remarks float on the ſurface, whilſt every weighty argument ſinks to the bottom.

"*Apparent rari, nantes in gurgite vaſto.*"

Such have been thoſe opinions, unbacked by authorities to buoy them up and keep them afloat: examples, I hope, will be found to ſtrengthen mine, and EMIGRATION appear in its true ſhape—a monſter of devaſtation, inſtead of that fruitful "*Polypus*," whoſe diſmemberment is held forth, as ſo productive:—a poetic fiction, which the Doctor's

November, 1782, in which Dr. Franklin's ſentiments are quoted.

Doctor's favourite "*Canaan*," (America) has fully confuted—her conſequence, if ſhe has any, depends on her population; her wealth, ſmall as it is, has increaſed with her inhabitants; the influx of emigrants, which has formed the body of her people, transferred a portion of that riches and ſtrength (which their preſence gave Ireland and Scotland) to her ſhores; their induſtry has enabled her to ſupport the expences of a long and bloody ſtruggle with the parent ſtate, and to contribute to thoſe taxes which Congreſs have impoſed for her internal regulation and government; yet, we are plauſibly told, that "*the fewer the people who remain, the greater* "*plenty and employment for them.*" If man, in a natural ſtate, was ſtripped of thoſe reſources, which the refinement of ſociety has furniſhed him with—of that fore-thought and apprehenſion the experience of ages has added to his own reflection—of that ſyſtem of œconomy, and transfer of ſupply, inventive neceſſity ſuggeſts for his maintenance and ſupport, which reſiſts the blaſt that bears famine on its boſom, and defies the dearth that threatens fate to all around it:—if ſuch were his ſtate, cut off from

from all commerce with the world, and pent up in his own narrow confine, dire need might oblige him, for ſelf-preſervation, to ſlay every firſt-born, and avert the ſtroke of death for a ſeaſon—but we are not ſo. Providence, which gave us reaſoning faculties, and dominion over brutes, ſtored our minds with the knowledge of remote and diſtant neceſſities, gave us its fiat to "*mul-*" "*tiply*," and bid Nature be "*fruitful*," the ſucceſſive link that bound and united her productions, was as a clue to man, whereby he might extricate himſelf from difficulties; the meaſure of equality removed, gave place to ſocial arrangement, and the little field whoſe produce often failed to ſupply its ſolitary tiller, now broken by many ploughs, yielded nutriment to diſtant kingdoms; a free circulation of trade revived the moſt torpid regions of creation, and the frozen Icelander regaled with the produce of the ſouthern hemiſphere. The fruitful earth, inexhauſtible of ſtores to induſtry and application, by her bounties, encourages population; the "*irrevocable doom*," man's certain puniſhment, ſtill preſerves its balance; each clime is beſt fitted for its inhabitants,

bitants, and why emulate the ravages of war, by forcing man from his dwelling?—Experience has taught us, that national partialities can yield only to oppreſſion, and the Indian prefers his tepid ſeas, and ſcorching zone, to the temperature of Europe.——In conſidering the opinions of theſe philoſophers, I have fallen into their errors, and adopted incautiouſly the univerſality of their reaſoning; the mind, like ſoftened wax, yields to every impreſſion—let me reſtore it to its former mould, by adapting it to the preſent queſtion. The rich province of Grenada, when ſtripped of its inhabitants, (baniſhed by the Spaniſh grandees) fell from the moſt flouriſhing ſtate, to poverty and wretchedneſs; frequent emigrations have thinned Spain in general of inhabitants, and damped the induſtry of the few abject wretches who remain to ſhame its deſpot policy. Antwep has transferred its wealth to Amſterdam, now a general mart, from the great influx of people who reſide there from all nations;—Glaſgow has gained her trade by the abandonment of every other town in Scotland, which could once cope with her;—Dublin ſends her abſentees to London,

London, which is enriched by the augmentation of ſtrangers. Is her overgrown population a burden? Are her ſtreets more crowded with beggars than Dublin, or has Amſterdam more of them? Far from it; in the former there are ten to one of theſe contained in the latter; becauſe population and induſtry are there greater, and both the Engliſh and Dutch capitols are examples how a number of hands help to increaſe wealth and every neceſſary of life, rather than diminiſh them;—theſe, and a thouſand other rich and populous towns, as Marſeilles, Lubec, Briſtol, York, Mancheſter, and Birmingham, &c. &c. are examples how population and reſort make a nation the receptacle of induſtry, and the patroneſs of liberal arts. Arbitrary power, as in France and Turkey, has, indeed, been found to ſmother induſtry in its birth; and though Paris and Conſtantinople are, perhaps, more populous than even London or Amſterdam, yet they muſt ever remain an exception to the general rule, "THAT RICHES INCREASE WITH POPULATION"—becauſe of the form of their government: no nation will be inclined to trade with another, where a

Cady

Cady or Baſhaw's fiat gives the meaſure of exchange, and the rule of equivalent; there is no bounty can excite induſtry where men are confined in a ſolitary and abandoned region: multitudes give employment to each other, and become dependants in their turn; the labour of each ſeparate individual, ſerves to ſupply others with neceſſaries, and procure for himſelf a return of thoſe he ſtands in need of. The ſhoemaker cannot live without the baker, nor the baker without the butcher, and they, in their turn, have recourſe to his induſtry; but where one man arrogates to himſelf the province of each, impelled by neceſſity to attempt the offices of all, he barely ſupports exiſtence; foreigners will not take from him his bungled ſupplies, and he cannot purchaſe from foreigners their improved articles, he has no commerce, no trade, and the preſſing exigencies of life are alone conſidered or ſatisfied.

It is a certainty of conſumption that gives vigour to both commerce and trade, and induces the manufacturer or merchant to lay up a ſtock to ſupply the caſual conſumer: a rapid

rapid circulation diffuſes itſelf through every department, a quick return of profit enables him to ſtem the current of exchange, riſk the ſale of his commodities abroad, and export freely without endangering his credit. A market is thus eſtabliſhed, which is ſtable or fluctuating in proportion to the numbers who reſort to it, beſides, a multitude muſt have wants in proportion to their numbers, different diſpoſitions and eſtates, luxury is ever ſure to follow the increaſe of population, and ſecede from an empire about to totter, as rats are ſaid to forſake that dwelling whoſe foundations are rotten.

The little indulgencies which civilization requires are encouraged; invention and ingenuity exert themſelves to pleaſe the taſte of faſhion, or the caprice of the opulent; thus population muſt ever tend to riches and refinement, and give wealth to the nation whoſe inhabitants are numerous: not that uncertain and fluctuating gain, which depends on ſeaſons and events, and which is often ſpeculative; but that permanent and fixed ſettlement, that never emigrates, which, ſpringing from a rich ſource, pours its

its bounties through the land, diſpenſing fertility to agriculture, encouragement to trade, and luxuriance to manufactures:— that wealth which, even to the moſt remote claſſes of ſociety, gives livelihood and profit, even from him who points the needle, to her who embroiders the web.

But in a region deſerted and remote, the neceſſaries of life are alone in demand, and extortion is increaſed by the urgency for them; ſo that the conſumer muſt accept, from he fraudulent artizan, his imperfect work at an unjuſt valuation, or deny himſelf the comforts of life.

No man, eminent in his profeſſion or trade, will tranſport himſelf to ſuch a place, but through hopes of exorbitant gain, where competition would be injurious to him (even had he a diviſion of trade) from the little demand there is for any; beſides he muſt unavoidably give long credit, and augment his demands in proportion to the time he has been out of his money; the commodities he ſells, muſt, of neceſſity, be adapted to every ſituation and caſe without diſtinction,

tion, variety or elegance: the needy conſumer muſt content himſelf with clothes which will not fit him, and conveniencies out of ſeaſon; leſs hands are conſequently employed, and that adventitious monopoly, which attention and confinement to a ſeparate branch of bufineſs beſtows, is neither known or regarded.

In fine, let the goods or materials be of what kind they may, in a POPULOUS CITY they will, one time or other, gain a ready ſale, or profitable exportation—and muſt, in the end, ſuit the circumſtances or occaſions of ſomebody. Foreign merchants will be induced to export the remaining goods of an over-ſtocked market, to that of ſuch general reſort, aud buy up theſe articles they know there is a demand for at home, which they can never fail to be ſupplied with on the ſhorteſt notice.

External commerce embraces, with her ſtrength, a country ſo inhabited, and internal wealth makes its people great and reſpectable.

Were

Were I to give a looſe to my reflections on this head, their infinity would but ſerve to clog and embarraſs; to a contemplative mind, the multitude of commercial, as well as legiſlative diſadvantages attendant on a country forſaken and deſtitute of inhabitants, muſt preſent themſelves in a variety of ſhapes; a particular treatment of them will, I truſt, be ſufficient for my purpoſe, and what I have already aſſerted, convince every unbiaſſed mind, that THE PROSPERITY OF A NATION CONSISTS IN ITS POPULATION, and that THAT MUST BE AUGMENTED AS THEY "INCREASE AND MULTIPLY."— It is laid down as a maxim, by ſome ingenious writer, "*That a country abandoned, is* "*worſe than if conquered*;" where a people are ſubjugated, the conqueror generally takes ſome care of his acquirements; but when the flower of a nation forſake it, tho' its name and form of government ſhould continue the ſame, yet exertion and vigour are wanting to make it reſpectable and happy; its diſmembered trunk lies at the mercy of each political hurricane, and it can neither reſiſt or fly from the ſtorm.

To

To aſſign limits to the increaſe of population, therefore, and fix a ſtandard for induſtry and improvement, is to preſcribe nature in her operations, and frame a law to regulate Omnipotence. Brutes, indeed, from their deficiency in reaſon and forethought, ſubordinate to man, can, in no caſe, exceed the bounds he affixes to their propagation, or the food he allots for their ſupport; but as to him who can derive ſubſiſtence from every clime, draw reſources from the barren rock, and even, in ſome inſtances, ſay to nature, "*Thus far ſhalt* "*thou go, and no farther*;"—to him it is abſurd to ſay, that he muſt regulate his conſumption by his induſtry; he who has ſo many, and ſuch various reſources, who, by * force of mechanics, could raiſe the broad earth, had he a place whereon to reſt his lever. Has not the Hollander expelled the ſea with his mounds, and raiſed a republic from the beds of the ocean? Has he not broken the ſandy waſtes to his will, and drawn

* Archimedes, the famous mathematician, who declared, he could invent a lever, ſtrong enough to raiſe the earth from its axis, had he a ſpot to fix his apparatus on.

drawn riches from a barren element? And yet his "*wealth would increaſe in proportion to* "*the drain of his nation!*" is the fact ſo; or is population confined to its own ſoil?— Wiſely does he invite all nations to his ſhores; wiſely does he embrace the diſciple of Mahomet, and invite the tribe of Judah to his dwelling. Do the different nations who reſort to, and are made denizens of his ſtate, exhauſt the produce of his induſtry, or deprive his offspring of ſupport? So far from it, that their influx has made him opulent, and that his wealth and reſources cope with, and almoſt rival, the boaſted capital of Britain. From ſuch examples, it is evident, that the WEALTH, INDUSTRY, and NATIONAL SECURITY of a country, increaſe and are promoted by the number of its inhabitants, and even by the arrival of ſtrangers who reſort to it.— Can it then be wiſdom or ſound policy, to encourage EMIGRATION, which muſt diminiſh the LABOUR, decreaſe the INDUSTRY, deſtroy the WEALTH, and impede the PROGRESS OF POPULATION, all ſo immediately dependant on each other, and linked together by ſo inſeparable a connection? A

prudent

prudent adminiſtration would deviſe modes to keep the ſubject at home, and by lenient meaſures endeavour to attach him more cloſely to his native ſoil; they would ſtretch forth their bounty and protection to aid his declining trade, and remove reſtrictive penalties, in order to revive his ſinking manufactures—they would do more; they would baniſh invidious jealouſy and rigorous monopoly, nor cramp, by heavy impoſt, a ſiſter kingdom, attached by conſanguinity, and loyal from principle; no narrow views of contracted ſelf-intereſt ſhould bias their judgment, nor partial diſtinctions excite them to bruiſe a part already broken. They ſhould diſcourage national ſeceders, nor tempt them, by faſcinating allurements, to relinquiſh their country, and ſacrifice its intereſts for a paltry inducement; this they ſhould do through motives of POLICY. The IRISH ABSENTEES draw annually out of this kingdom, immenſe ſums of ready money. It is true, it gives England preſent wealth; but will it aid her future profit? The native, oppreſſed beyond ſufferance, ſees his wealthy landlord, weighed down with the preſſure of that ſterling wealth he

has wrung from the "*hard hands*" of hopeleſs induſtry, turn his back on a devoted country;—indignant he forſakes the ſoil he cultivated, and bids an everlaſting adieu to his paternal cottage. Other climes receive him—and encouraged there, he helps to fill their growing coffers.

It is an axiom too ſelf evident to need a comment, that a people, numerous and wealthy, can better bear the burden of taxation, than one abandoned and impoveriſhed. If a bounteous lord, a fruitful ſeaſon, and honeſt induſtry, ſhould bleſs the huſbandman, can he not better, and will he not more readily pay the tithe-man and collector? If bounty and protection ſwell the merchant's ſails, and waft his commerce to a favoured market, can he not, with more eaſe, augment his credit—contribute more largely to the revenue, and help the nation to beſtow a greater portion of her hereditary income, to reimburſe the parent ſtate the expence ſhe has been at, in ſupporting and protecting him? Her population gives hands, and her wealth affords money to man and equip a numerous convoy, which guards, in peace

peace, the coaſts of both kingdoms; in war, repels the enemy, and adds ſplendid acquiſitions to the empire at large. Such is the progreſs of political proſperity in a commercial kingdom; and from ſuch conſiderations as theſe, do I aſſert, it would be POLICY in England to ſhare her traffic with us; and not, by engrafting a wretched branch of feeble legiſlation on her robuſt ſtock, (ſo to adhere and be a part, or fall unnoticed by the firſt rude blaſt) plunge this nation in an abyſs of miſery. An UNION OF LEGISLATURES would prove this unnatural conjunction, from which no fruit could ripen or abound to this country. An irreſiſtible attraction, ever the bright glory that plays round majeſty, would collect together, within the circle of the court, the nobility and every man of property; royal favour—parliamentary influence—commercial advantage—pride, pleaſure or profit would engage or allure the fickle and deſigning. Iriſhmen would ſpend in England ten-fold more than they now do, which muſt ſoon exhauſt the money of the nation; for beſides the members whom the ſeſſion would annually bring over, every man who had a plentiful eſtate,

would conſtantly reſide there;—no man, who had any expectation of public employment, would ever ſet his foot in this country, and he who made his fortune there, would certainly purchaſe lands in that kingdom. Our trade, ſhould we have any, would be reduced to a paltry retail, in a miſerable, remote and barren land, deſerted by its richeſt inhabitants: and though we ſhould admit the viſionary ſuppoſitions of thoſe who hold forth an UNION as a meaſure for our ſalvation; yet commerce, at beſt, of ſo ſlow a growth and delicate a texture, cannot be forced. Much time, great caution, and extenſive encouragement, are neceſſary to rear our infant manufactures, and introduce habits of induſtry to a people whoſe agriculture and tillage have been kept back through want of protection; gradual is the progreſs of wealth, and almoſt imperceptible; from the grain that fertilizes, to the bread that feeds thouſands; from the blade that fattens, to the fleece that protects and ſhelters; from the farmer to the exporter; from the manufacturer to the merchant, and from him to the government; ſo that it may be ſaid, with truth, that the meaneſt labourer

who

who turns the glebe, becomes, by his induſtry, a benefactor to the ſtate: great, therefore, muſt that be, which leaves no hand idle; but greater, ſhe, whoſe bounty ſtimulates to double exertions of induſtry, and fortifies her poſſeſſions, not with an hireling band of mercenary troops, but with a fruitful people, ſtill augmenting their number and induſtry, attached to the clime which foſtered their family, and bound to the rulers whoſe indulgence aſſiſted them to ſupport it. EXTRAORDINARY LEVIES OF SOLDIERS have, of late years, thinned this country of inhabitants, and thoſe too chiefly collected from the proteſtant part of the community; to enable Britain to carry on an unnatural and expenſive war with her Colonies. By keeping up, and that too, in times of profound peace, a * LARGER ESTABLISHMENT than is neceſſary, Ireland has a burden to ſupport nearly equal to that of England; though ſo much poorer, leſs populous and extenſive. "Theſe turbulent "people muſt be reſtrained, and kept at bay, "even

* The Iriſh military eſtabliſhment, of late years, has been augmented to Fifteen Thouſand Men, when that of England is but Seventeen Thouſand!

" even at the point of the bayonet; ſuppreſs " theſe Volunteers, and let ſummary AT- " TACHMENTS teach them ſubmiſſion." Such language did England hold, through her ſervants, to awe and to intimidate; and ſhould ſhe now chuſe to force any meaſure down our throats, who ſhall dare to reſiſt her?— In the people it would be rebellion; a Jeffries might be found, within the bar, ſanguinary enough to diſpenſe profit to the hangman, and the military ruffian might fleſh his ſword, * with impunity, in boſoms void of feeling, uncivilized and barbarous; I repeat it, POLICY ſhould check her in forwarding any meaſure obnoxious to them; the people are the ſtrength and bulwark of the land; ſhould they be driven from it, invaſion, as heretofore, would hover round our coaſts, and though the whole iſland ſhould not fall, a ſnug port in the province of Munſter, ſo near the entrance of the channel, and ſo contiguous to Breſt, might be an object of great magnitude to the Houſe of Bourbon. To introduce, therefore, into treaties of commerce

* Of ſo little eſtimation was the life of a native Iriſhman held formerly, that his murderer could eſcape on paying a trifling amercement. *Vide Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.*

commerce and alliance, any other active principle than that of POLICY, as an inducement to indulgence and bounty, is frivolous and abſurd. Natural affection, conſanguinity and inter-marriage, may, in point of law, be good conſiderations for grants—but between ſeparate and rival kingdoms: I laugh at the exploded idea; that a rich and powerful nation will ſacrifice her intereſts to another through LOVE AND AFFECTION.

Should an UNION take place, the merchant would transfer his capital to that place where, by his voice or influence, he could diſcountenance or ſuſpend a meaſure injurious to his traffic; the Iriſh mart would be deſerted; the courts of law, abandoned by a crowd of ſuitors, would preſent a ſcene of deſolation; "THE KING'S HIGH COURT," diſrobed of its authority, reſound with noiſy litigants—an arbitrary ſtar-chamber, or diſpenſer of CIVIL PROCESSES; and LEARNING, ſcared from her receſſes, ſeek an aſylum at Oxford, or at Cambridge: the progreſs of refinement and civilization would ceaſe; and this proud city, like another Rome,

Rome, at once experience the effects of riſing grandeur, and of rapid declenſion.

Has Wales profited by her UNION with England? More contiguous to London, and conſequently more commodiouſly ſituated for a participation of commerce than we, (divided as we are by a dangerous channel) has a lapſe of three or four centuries enriched her? Though poſſeſſed of one of the beſt ports in the whole iſland, ſhe remains almoſt the only ſpot in it which has no commerce; an incontrovertible proof that participation of trade is not the certain conſequence of an UNIÓN, and that Ireland, like Wales and Scotland, would gain nothing by the meaſure: the latter is governed by a ſyſtem of juriſprudence of her own, and conſequently appoints her own Lords of Seſſion; epiſcopacy there, is a ſtate rejected and deſpiſed, conſequently England ſends her no Biſhops; with us parliamentary influence, appoints both Judges and Biſhops, ſhould they deſtroy that, by leſſening our weight in the conſtitution, the two learned profeſſions muſt fall into diſcredit; younger ſons, and men of middling fortune,

fortune, muſt conſequently be turned adrift upon the world, without ſupport, or a means of procuring it in the Church, or at the Bar; and what ſhould we get in return? We, who have not money to trade any where, would gain admiſſion into Engliſh ports, at the additional diminution of at leaſt an annual MILLION from our capital!—We might poſſibly, it is true, have NINETY votes to FIVE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHT, in a parliament abounding in partialities; inſomuch, that the members who repreſent one part of the kingdom, are often found in oppoſition to the repreſentatives of the other, for the ſake of impeding the meaſures of government, or biased to the particular intereſts of their own counties; as if the nation at large was not their conſtituent, but they the repreſentatives of a ſeparate town or borough. So much has Scotland profited by this BENIGNANT meaſure, * that the produce of

* Dr. Anderſor, in a note to the introductory diſcourſe to his Hebrides, remarks, that " the productive are to the waſteful part of the community (in England) in the proportion of thirteen to one, whereas, in Scotland, they are only as ſeven and an half to eight.

of her taxes, hardly pay the gatherer who collects them. A wretched ſyſtem of oppreſſion! to gall a miſerable people for the ſupport of a few pliant tools, and merely calculated to diſhearten and keep them under. But I ſhall confine my obſervations on this head, till I come to conſider the good effects the Union has produced to that country, as aſſerted in a late publication. Upon the whole, I am led to conſider that the money exported from this country, by her ABSENTEES, is much greater than generally imagined, and that an UNION would augment it to an alarming extent. A member of both parliaments, and a man well converſant in the reſtrictive calamities which have ſo long depreſſed his country, aſſerted, if I recollect aright, and I am willing to ſubſcribe to the aſſertion, that "*The drain of Ireland, occaſioned by her abſentees, was equal, in compariſon to the rental of Ireland, with all the taxes of Great Britain, in compariſon to the property of Great Britain*;" this aſſertion has appeared in print, and I am therefore at liberty to conclude, it was well founded, as it remains uncontradicted.—— What a dreary proſpect does this preſent! and

and how ſorely have the people felt the ſcourge! Yet this Circe is not glutted, and an UNION is the theme to allure and to deſtroy.

So much has been ſaid of the "COMMERCIAL PROPOSITIONS," and the "FRENCH TREATY," that the public ear is tired of both; the former, as framed beneficially for Ireland, were thrown out in the Britiſh Parliament, as I have before aſſerted, and ſhe is unnoticed in the latter. Could a COMMERCIAL UNION have been formed on a more permanent baſis than that which the firſt reſolution held forth—reciprocity, and the "*mutual advantage of both countries?*"—By levelling the duties, and making them ſquare, ſo as to promote induſtry, Ireland, encouraged and upheld, had been better able to contribute to the Britiſh Revenue, and give a part of her hereditary one (augmented by ſuch indulgence) to England's Exchequer; this is no viſionary aſſertion—the fact has proved how * much (within the laſt

* The hereditary Revenue of Ireland, ending Lady Day, A. D. 1784, amounted to 659,000l. which, in 1684, amounted but to 234,000l.—a balance of 425,000l. in favour of the preſent century.

laſt century, and under every reſtriction that could be deviſed to cramp our trade and manufacture) it has increaſed; but partiality preſided, and what could we hope from ſuch a giver? Had a participation of trade been granted, England had, in ſome meaſure, loſt her arrogant pre-eminence;—pride and authority are inherent in man, as wealth gives him more of the latter, it augments the former, and it will always be his object to increaſe his fortune, leſt his power ſhould be leſſened. The * REVENUE of England (in leſs than the time in which Ireland gained little more than four hundred thouſand pounds additional to her own) has increaſed about TWELVE MILLION PER ANNUM, "*from the great encouragement given* "*by her legiſlature, and the attention ſhewn to* "*promote the induſtry and exertions of the peo-*"*ple*;" and from the numerous acts for the †encouragement of the ſtaple manufactures, and the better payment of the poor employed therein, without which, ſhe well knew, they

* Sinclair on Revenue, page 462.

† Vide acts from the 11th Edward III. and 14th George II. to the preſent reign.

they could neither thrive nor advantage the ſtate. On the contrary, the heavy TAXES impoſed here, without bounty or encouragement to place us in a ſituation of paying them, ſave by riſking a failure, has impeded the progreſs of manufacture and tillage, and depreſſed us in point of competition with foreign markets. Whilſt Ireland continues to ſend the raw material to be manufactured in other countries, (ſo injurious to the nation at large, though perhaps beneficial to individuals) ſhe can never be in a condition to ſupply her home conſumption or an export trade. * The quantities of linen and woollen yarn ſhipped from Dublin, Belfaſt, Newry, Cork, and indeed almoſt every port of conſequence in the kingdom, for the ſupply of rival manufactures, is exceſſive: had the miſerable wretches in the South, (who have, of late, raiſed ſuch diſturbances) been employed in manufacturing theſe raw articles, what wealth

* It appears from the cuſtom-houſe books, that in the laſt year, Ireland exported Seventy-five Thouſand ſtone of woollen yarn, beſides ſaddlery, &c. to an enormous amount; and it is a fact well known, that we can export even boots and ſhoes thirty per cent. cheaper than England.

wealth had the nation derived, ſo improvidently laviſhed on a Britiſh rival!—What peace and tranquillity had bleſſed the land! Were the ſurpluſage of the HEREDITARY REVENUE applied to the increaſe of bounties on national export, how greatly would agriculture increaſe! how would commerce extend, and Ireland be indeed a rich and proſperous nation! Within a few years, the houſe tax has been doubled, and the ſhop-keeper can ſcarcely ſupport his family; our manufacturers have been ſtarving in our ſtreets for want of employ, and no encouragement held forth to them; even the difference of INTEREST on money, has deterred the needy from borrowing, leſt it ſhould eat up the principal,—and eſtates are let at rack-rent, or purchaſed by foreigners. Surrounded by evils, can no other expedient be found than an UNION, to relieve, I ſhould have ſaid, oppreſs us? It has been aſſerted, "*that a nation may be ſo circumſtanced, that a reduction of intereſt would prove of ſuch importance, that its very exiſtence might depend upon it*:" let us conſider if we are ſo circumſtanced, and if we are, contrive and adopt every meaſure that may

may tend to keep the people at home, and induce them to purchaſe and improve their native ſoil. England, we may reſt aſſured, will never, voluntarily, beſtow on us advantages that muſt injure her own intereſted monopoly, and the declarations of the moſt conſiderable manufacturers, when examined at the Bar of her Houſe—" *that ſhould the* " *Commercial Treaty take place with Ireland,* " *they would transfer their capitals here,*"—ſhews, how reluctantly ſhe will part with any advantage to this country, which would drain her of wealth and inhabitants. I ſay, therefore, any proffered bounty from that ſide the water, is to be ſuſpected, and even the meaſures of a Miniſter here, to be narrowly canvaſſed and looked into.

To ſtrike a balance of equality between intereſts ſo jarring and oppoſite, or endeavour to unite two kingdoms ſo unequal in every reſpect, muſt evidently tend to depreſs one of them—equality of REPRESENTATION and TRADE—of TAXES, CUSTOMS, and EXCISE, &c. &c.!! Can it be ſuppoſed that Ireland, a FOURTH of Great Britain, in LEGISLATION and COMMERCE, ſhould emulate

emulate Great Britain, and ſwell on a ſudden to ſuch extent and importance?—Like the frog in the fable, her vain deſire would prove deſtructive, and the event convince her, when too late, that nature, as well as policy, has affixed bounds, beyond which there is no extending, England would dictate her own terms, and deride the vain conceits of ſuch a ſyſtem of equality.

There would be no poſſibility of making allowances or abatements in CUSTOMS and TAXES, without creating more loſs and confuſion in the trade and revenue of the country, than profit or advantage. What equivalent could we give for large and profitable immunities relinquiſhed on the part of England; or what line could be drawn between the DEBTS of the nations? What aſſeſſment could be levied by us to exonerate her national debt? Or, what ſum could ſhe grant as a return for our bearing a part of ſuch a burden? None, in the world, at all adequate to ſuch a diſproportion. We have no money to purchaſe a partnerſhip in her firm, and ſhe has no Colonies to mortgage or beſtow, as a ſecurity for our loan or diſburſement, even

ſup-

ſuppoſing theſe diſparities removed, CUSTOMS and EXCISES ſo much depend upon contingencies, as accidents of war, &c. to the expences of which we muſt contribute, and yet gain no emolument from its ſucceſs or acquiſitions, and the NATIONAL DEBTS ſo increaſe or diminiſh in conſequences of it, as muſt make it impoſſible to form an exact eſtimate, or draw any juſt inference or concluſion; all calculations on that head, muſt be merely ſpeculative, and I have neither leiſure or inclination to follow ſuch idle purſuits.

In my mind, few ſound reaſons, if any at all, could be given on behalf of an UNION in the preſent day, when ſo many intereſts claſh, and ſyſtem has ſuperſeded humanity. To correct the abuſes of deſpotiſm, and by uniting, reſtore a people from ferocity and barbariſm, to refinement and civilization, is humane and politic; and, excluſive of that, I know of no plea ſtrong enough to deprive them of riches and liberty, ſave that of NECESSITY and SELF-PRESERVATION.

Ireland has advanced rapidly towards all the attainments of improvement and wealth, and hoſtility or rebellion cannot be urged as a motive for ſubjecting her ſtiff-necked and refractory ſpirit to the Britiſh yoke. She wages no wars—ſhe ravages no poſſeſſions—ſhe arms no hoſtile band to invade the neighbouring coaſts, or expel the governors, her king has placed over her. Submiſſive and loyal, ſhe implores protection—ſhe inentreats for a participation of commerce, and "*for bread, you would give her a ſtone*;" the clamour of a few miſguided wretches, a deluded peaſantry, is held forth as an heralding to arms; and factious ſcribblers ſwell the volume of improbability, as a pretext to ſubjugate. The murmur, that a * deſcendant of the old line of Mileſian kings, had taken poſſeſſion of certain faſtneſſes, and with an armed banditti, prepared to aſſert his obſolete claims to royalty, had ſcarcely died away, when a new tale is fabricated

* A Mr. O'Connor, who, followed by a few ruſtics, armed with pitchforks, kept poſſeſſion of an eſtate, which the law has ſince confirmed him in his claims to.

fabricated, " that French miſſionaries had " landed," and " *agitating friars*" were buſy in rouſing the people to arms, in order to ſhake off the eſtabliſhed government and religion! What puniſhment do ſuch calumniators deſerve?—To be branded as infamous, and GRACED with an halter. The law has affixed no puniſhment adequate to ſuch an offence, as the Roman code contained none for parricide, conſidering it a degree of moral turpitude which man could never arrive at.

Under theſe circumſtances, there can be no reaſonable pretext for invading the eſtabliſhed conſtitution of this country, deſtroying the juſt " BALANCE OF POWER," and, in fact, reducing us to ONE eſtate. The ſlighteſt alteration in ſyſtems ſo delicately framed, is dangerous, when the ſoundeſt politicians, who have written on the ſubject, aſſert, that " even an overgrown in- " creaſe, in any one of the three conſtituent " parts of our government, muſt prove fatal " to the whole;" and ſo jealous have the people been of their rights, and ſo well convinced of this maxim, that the ſovereign

has been abridged of his power, and a ſolemn vote of Parliament declared, that "*the power of the Crown had increaſed, was* "*increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed.*"— Let England, therefore, be cautious, leſt, by depreſſing us, ſhe ſhould ſink her own intereſts with us; and let not the rigid meaſures of arbitrary and unconſtitutional times, be adduced as examples to complete a meaſure of the worſt tendency. The UNION with Scotland was not FIRST broached in ſeventeen hundred and ſeven; it was the arbitrary and unjuſt policy of a James and a Charles, thoſe ſticklers for prerogative, that firſt introduced it; but the wavering irreſolution of their tempers impeded its progreſs, till the ſcourge of the Stuarts aroſe, and by his ſtrength recalled it into being. Cromwell's principle was to controul, and he well knew ſubjection alone would quiet a government ſo unjuſtly obtained, and held by ſo precarious a tenure. The motive that urged Anne's miniſtry to complete an Union between the kingdoms, was to ſecure the SUCCESSION, much diſputed at that time; it was brought forward by the Whigs, in order to exclude the Stuart line, and

eſtabliſh

eſtabliſh that of Hanover; the "*warming-pan plot,*" as it is called, has now died away, and we dread no miraculous reſurrection of a Warbec, or a Chevalier. The Houſe of Hanover is quietly and happily eſtabliſhed on the throne, reſpected and ſecure; and we want no ſuch violent expedients to undermine its authority, or alienate the people's affections from a monarch ſo deſervedly loved and regarded.

The grievances complained of, and the advantages annexed to the furtherance of an Union between England and Ireland, at the reſtoration, (the firſt idea of ſuch a meaſure here that I know of) were ſo frivolous and abſurd, that Charles, perhaps, ſunk in diſſipation and exceſs, paid no regard to them. It appears, from a paper preſented to the King at that time, that ſeveral of the Engliſh pale, in Ireland, were anxious for the meaſure, and the motives that induced them to wiſh for it, are ſufficiently obvious from the remonſtrance which was made upon breaking up of the treaty of commerce between Scotland and England: ſetting forth, "*With all ſubmiſſion and obedience, that an* UNION *with Eng-*

" *England and Ireland, under one legiſlative*
" *power, aſſembled in one parliament, might be*
" *re-ſettled,* " DE JURE," *in ſomething the*
" *like manner as it was formerly,* " DE FAC-
" TO," (words then much in vogue) " *to*
" *the facilitating his Majeſty's gracious govern-*
" *ment of both kingdoms, diſſolving many in-*
" *tricate difficulties, taking away much of the*
" *root of difference and diſcord between the ma-*
" *ny* PARTIES *in his Majeſty's dominions, and*
" *ſtrengthening his hands againſt all oppoſers,*
" *&c. &c.*

Thoſe " *difficulties*" are ſince " *removed*" without the interference of ſuch a meaſure; the government is conducted with as much " *facility*" and ſmoothneſs as we could wiſh; thoſe " *differences*" and " *diſcords*" have ceaſed; and as to " PARTY," that will always exiſt whilſt England owns a free conſtitution. It would be ſuperfluous to ſtate at large, every minute head of theſe " *griev-*
" *ances*"—the general ſcope of each will be ſufficient.

The

The 1ſt complains of the "*diſagreement of "the judges, whether* * *laws made in England, "ſince Poynings' Law, do bind Ireland, &c.?*"

Is not Poynings' Law itſelf repealed, and has not the legiſlature ſolemnly declared, that no ſtatutes paſſed in England, are competent to bind this country?

The 2d, 3d, and 4th, complain of "*the "diſagreement of the judges, as to the* † *acts "of ſettlement in Ireland. being conſiſtent with "the 17th and 18th of Car.* I. *paſſed in "Eng-*

* Vide 22d George III. and 23d of the ſame reign, quoted before.

† 17th and 18th Car. II.—This act was paſſed in affirmance of the 17th and 18th Car. I. and from its purview, appears to have been framed for the purpoſe of "confirming poſſeſſions "in Ireland, under the act of Settlement;" on account of "ſome doubts and difficulties," as they are called, and for the "improvement and repair of the ruins and deſolations of the "kingdom, ſubſequent to the rebellion of 1641—2, &c. &c." and ſo frivolous are theſe "doubts," that it appears a word in the ſubjunctive, being ſubſtituted for one in the copulative, was thought a ſufficient explanation to confirm Charles' officers and ſoldiers in their poſſeſſions there, which, like Cæſar's legions, obtained the patrimony of the vanquiſhed, as a reward for their ſervices.

" *England*;"—that " *the people, ſent on his* " *Majeſty's ſervice there, are accounted as aliens* " *and foreigners, viz. their goods coming from* " *Barbadoes, muſt firſt come to England, ſo* " *that they pay double cuſtom, &c.*" and that, therefore, " *the colonies from England, in a* " *generation or two, are more diſpoſed to be-* " *come Iriſh.*" Judges have, and will for ever diſagree, and I know of no mode to prevent a difference of opinion, but by removing the cauſes of it: thoſe cauſes are removed, the Engliſh reſidents are no longer accounted as " *aliens*," and this dreaded degeneration of blood, is now an object of choice, and not of neceſſity.

The 5th grievance goes on to ſtate, " *the* " *drain of men amounting, between the years* " 1649 *and* 1653, *to above* 50,000 *ſoldiers.*" I cannot conceive what is meant by this drain, except the maſſacre and rebellon in 1649 and 1651; or how an Union would have ſtopped the progreſs of devaſtation. But, thank God! no ſuch reaſon can now be aſſigned—and I think it has pretty fully appeared, that an Union would now rather augment, than leſſen ſuch a grievance.

The

The 6th and laſt, concludes generally with an aſſertion, " " *that theſe, turned Iriſh, are* " *againſt all improvement and trade, &c. and* " *that the Engliſh planters, on any commotion,* " *loſe their improvements and ſtock, and are* " *driven to the greateſt diſtreſs.*" Can ſuch a grievance be complained of in the preſent day—when we are ſtruggling for commercial participation, " *improving and ornamenting*" beyond what our finances can afford—and ſo anxious to encourage every foreign ſettlement that will eſtabliſh a capital amongſt us?

But what were thoſe high-ſounding " *ad-* " *vantages*" held forth in the laſt century? " *Leſs army would ſerve, and train bands might* " *ſuffice.* We would thank England now, to remove from us ſo expenſive an eſtabliſhment, and willingly protect ourſelves, as we did the laſt war; but ſhe ſuſpects our ſincerity:—" *The Iriſh, being put from their* " *hopes of more parliaments, will be the eaſier* " *diſpoſed to Engliſh habit, language,* BUILD- " ING OF CHIMNIES, *&c. the want of which* " *makes a great conſumption of Engliſh there;*

" —*put*

" —*put from their hopes of more parliaments!*" Ireland was to be compoſed with a ſoft lull-a-by; the toy, which was given to amuſe, ſtole from her whilſt ſlumbering, and hope, the laſt refuge of the miſerable, withdrawn, that national attachment might yield ſubmiſſive to a badge of ſlavery. The Iriſh have no objection to Engliſh habit, language or chimnies, the former have been found convenient, and aſſumed as moſt eligible; and the latter has proved more productive than even CASTLE-BUILDING.—— What opinion can we entertain of a meaſure ſupported on ſuch grounds as theſe? Or how can we ſuppreſs our indignation, on reading the concluding reaſons annexed to this flimſy catalogue of grievance and redreſs? " *That then the great men of all parts* " *there, (in Ireland) as hitherto, would not be* " *ſo anxious to expel their Engliſh tenants and* " *take in Iriſh, though at leſs rents, partly be-* " *cauſe they are more* SLAVISH, *and abſolutely* " *at their command, and partly to keep up the* " *neceſſity of a great army, wherein their rela-* " *tions, ſervants, and dependants have conve-* " *nient entertainment.*" In order to cruſh, at once, every ſeed of natural affection, and, by

by dividing, conquer; already ſlaves, to make them ſtill more ſlaviſh, and deprive the wretched followers of their only ſupport—the countenance and patronage of their chieftains. Such was the contemptible policy of that day, and ſuch, I am inclined to think, the cauſe of much bloodſhed. Whilſt united to each other, by bounty and benevolence—by *foſterage* and *goſſipred*, no power could ſeparate; but once eſtranged, by malevolent inſinuation and captious jealouſy, their depreſſion was eaſy. Was it this ſtirred up their ſpirits to rebel?—Was it this that whetted the aſſaſſin's dagger, and urged the maniac on to ruthleſs maſſacre? If ſuch were the cruel means which England took to render them obſequious, and that her maxim was, indeed—" DIVIDE " AND CONQUER—Ireland denies that it was " *her drain of men*" that deſolated the provinces, and lays the blood of thouſands at other doors.

But let thoſe feuds be forgotten—let invidious diſtinctions ceaſe, and England and Ireland join hands in loyalty and affection to the reigning monarch; he will not ceaſe

to

to remember, * " *that he exiſts for the advan-* " *tage of the public*;" and the revolution has finally determined this great truth, " *that* " *nations are not the property of kings*"—they " *can do no wrong*;" but their miniſters are reſponſible for every meaſure of government, and it would be well that they held in mind, this maxim of the author I have above quoted—" *that power, when its object* " *is not the good of thoſe who are ſubject to it,* " *is nothing more than the right of the ſtrongeſt,* " *and may be repreſſed by the exertion of a* " *ſimilar right.*"

* De Lolme on the Engliſh Conſtitution.

ANSWER,

ANSWER, &c.

I HAVE, heretofore, conſidered the queſtion at large, without reference to any thing ſtated by the writer, who has ſo recently come forward the advocate for a ſyſtem I reprobate, and author of tenets I diſavow; and I did ſo, from a conviction, that, to blend his aſſertions with the body of my arguments, would give a ludicrous complexion to the whole, and render a ſerious ſubject a matter of diſport:—take them by themſelves; they are ridiculous—conjoin them with facts, they become momentous, from

from the very treatment of them, as ſubjects that required labour and ingenuity to refute; they call for neither, and the ANSWER now intended to be given, is rather a ſumming up of the foregoing pages, than any ſerious notice of the author, on whoſe work I mean to comment.

In the outſet, he (with admirable ingenuity) puts an "*home queſtion*," and by drawing his own inference, prevents a fair anſwer. "*Do you wiſh that the two kingdoms* "*ſhould remain diſunited?*" Yes, I anſwer without heſitation; but my "*affirmative is* "*no leſs than the maſſacre of thouſands of bre-* "*thren—the moſt imminent danger of our* "*eſtabliſhed religion, and the completeſt triumph* "*of our enemies!*"——In what Sybil legend have you found this fell denunciation, good Oxonian? In religion and laws we are already UNITED; and it is ſuch writers as the "*Conſtitutional Guide*," that will "*cheriſh* "*rivalſhip and jealouſies.*"—I aver, that a COMMERCIAL UNION, without bounty and encouragement, and an equal participation of trade and advantages would foment them both.

I avert

I aver, that a LEGISLATIVE ONE would deſolate the land, and reduce us to a cypher, then the "*unnatural, the cruel ſuperio-*" *rity which power once lodged in the Parlia-*" *ment of England, and made it odious to that* " *of Ireland,*" would have double force; and the ſuggeſtions of a ſubaltern miniſter, would need no confirmation from his maſter in office; much ſhow and trouble would be ſaved; the miniſter, by drawing to himſelf, as it were to a focus, the repreſentative body of Ireland, would have more opportunities to corrupt honeſty, and reward villainy. A ſtar, or a ſtring, would turn the ſcale in the hour of trial; and a penſion, or a place, buy off the integrity of him who wavered; the wants and the weakneſſes of the repreſentative, would be narrowly watched, and eagerly ſupplied; and he is a bad judge of human nature, who does not know, that opportunity and importunity have often beat down virtue. Similar intereſts promote ſimilar ſentiments, as bodies aſſume the ſame form and poliſh by colliſion, and Iriſhmen, admitted to the Britiſh Senate, in time, would talk and think as Engliſhmen: example

ample is a great ſource of unanimity, and men have been known ſo diveſted of opinion, as to join in a meaſure deſtructive of their intereſts, through dread of ſingularity.

The blandiſhments of a firſt Lord of the Treaſury, backed by a powerful intereſt, and dazzling majority, would wheedle the timid member from his duty, or the force of ridicule drown the voice of patriotiſm, abaſh, and beat him from his purpoſe. Engliſhmen, as heretofore, will laugh at our intereſts, and deride us into acquieſcence; Ireland has long been the FOOL of the Britiſh court, her blunders, her heat, her poverty and wretchedneſs have been a never-ceaſing fund to ſcoff at, and deride; like another Brutus, ſhe put on the livery of ſervitude, and the garb of inſanity, to work out her own ſalvation, and emancipate her people; and, like him, ſhould neceſſity require it, will ſhe exert herſelf in vindication of her rights, ſhould their infringement be ever attempted.

But how is this unnatural ſuperiority removed, which England had " ONCE" over " us?

us? Does a ſhare of her revenue augment our treaſury? Has Ireland a navy of her own? Has the ſupreme legiſlature reſigned its power of rejection, and given to our Peers—the "*dernier reſort?*"——I have before aſſerted, and my aſſertion has been proved, that the power of England is a dead weight in the ſcale of intereſts, and till that is leſſened or removed, we can never hope to participate freely in any of her acquiſitions; to imagine it is folly, and that a ſteel clad warrior ſhould yield to a naked aſſaſſin, could not be leſs worthy of credit or belief. Yet, "*as the miniſter and people are not always the*" "*the ſame,*" the kingdoms muſt be "*unit-*" "*ed centinels,*" to mount guard on the conſtitution, and Ireland watch the happy change which ſhould "*entruſt the reins of*" "*government to the hands of honeſty!*" Integrity in a miniſter, is a Machievelian virtue, and as we have not money to corrupt, we can little hope he will ſacrifice, through humanity, the intereſts of the country in which he was born and raiſed, for a diſtant dependency; but he can do nothing without the concurrence of Parliament, and an handful of Iriſhmen would cut a poor figure

brawling for their privileges in an Engliſh Houſe of Commons.

The panygeriſt of Mr. Orde, who ſeems to have adopted the ſtile and ſentiments of his patron, by an unaccountable ſpecies of Legerdemain, ſtrives to juggle his ſyſtem on the world, by an UNION OF INCONSISTENCIES! he tells us, that "*Ireland having* "*flung off her ſubſerviency of legiſlature,*" conducted herſelf with all due "*decorum,* "*ſo eſſential for preſerving the independency her* "*conſtitution requires, and alſo for conſiliating* "*an Union with England!*" Now, if I know aught of reaſon or orthography, "*indepen-* "*dency*" is a diſtinct and ſeparate ſtate, and if our "*conſtitution* REQUIRES IT," how, in the name of Heaven! can you unite, but by diſſolving the diſtinction, and reſtoring us to our original ſubſerviency?

But I might have ſaved myſelf the trouble of defining, for in a few lines farther, we find it "*in plain terms,*" explained, a "*ſe-* "*paration!*" He "*will not argue from* HY- "POTHESIS *built on conjecture,*" and yet he "SUPPOSES," that "*the Iriſh merchant, arrived*

"*in*

" *in any foreign port, with his ſtaple manufac-*
" *ture, would be underſold ten per cent.*"—Luckily for Ireland, ſhe has not tried the experiment, England approves of her linens, and the Cheſter fair affords her annually an advantageous market, and though " *inſurance,* " *freight, and port duties*" are paid for, the excellence of this export, would prove as beneficial to the trader under theſe diſadvantages, as any other material he could ſhip for foreign markets, from its ſuperior quality and duration: neither France, Spain, or Holland, could vie with us, and the Colonies would be more ready to receive it from us, than any other country, our ports lying more convenient for trade, and the dangers of a coaſt or channel voyage removed, would leſſen the rate of inſurance. Our tabbinets are moſtly conſumed at home, and compoſe the moſt faſhionable dreſs of our nobility and gentry; and I am at liberty to SUPPOSE, in my turn, that their novelty, beauty, ſtrength and cheapneſs would recommend them to countries, where light manufactures are neceſſary for the convenience of the wearer, and where nothing ſo comparatively cheap and various could

be ſubſtituted. As to the affixing "*counter-*
"*vailing duties*," it would tend to the intereſts of both nations to ſuppreſs them, where aſſignments are the chief return for imports, where barter is the moſt frequent exchange, and where ſo conſtant and regular a demand is had for French wines and cambricks; the former will always prove as eligible a return for our linens, tabbinets, upholſtery and ſaddlery, as hard money; from the great profits the merchant has on them, and there are many things the product and manufacture of this country, which none of theſe nations can arrive at, no more than we can plant vineyards or preſs grapes. In this "*cir-*
"*cuit*," as it is called, I can ſee nothing of ſo "*melancholy a contraſt when compared*
"*with the quantity of linens and tabbi-*
"*nets, &c. regularly imported into England,*
"*and ſo liberally paid for!*"—the fact is, that tabbinets are either wholly PROHIBITED, or a duty is affixed tantamount to prohibition, and find their way into that country, through the medium of the ſmuggler; at once a proof of England's LIBERALITY, and how eager ſhe is to cruſh every infant manufacture,

ture, which might, in time, advance the wealth and importance of this country, even to the diſadvantage of her own revenue!—Iriſh manufacturers have been decoyed over to conſtruct this beautiful fabric, ſo much in vogue, that even contraband failed to ſupply it; and now this "*liberal payment*" is held forth to encourage emigration, and enrich a rival. Thereare no penal ſtatutes here to prevent ſuch enticements THITHER, tho' England has been aſtute to keep the ſecret of her manufactures at home, and inflicts the puniſhments * of "*fine and impriſonment*," by repeated acts, on ſuch as "*entice or ſe-*" *duce*" artificers abroad, or even export the "*blocks*," or other tools employed in conſtructing them; yet the Iriſh artificer may impoveriſh his country by emigrating there, and his ſeducer eſcape with impunity!

"*Not ſail beyond the Cape of Good Hope, or* "*the Streights of Magellan!—an awful in-*" *terdict!*"—Such is the narrow policy of Britain, granting to her own Eaſt India Company an excluſive charter. By the ſale of aſſortments in Aſia, it is true, the Company are FIRST ſerved, and the ſpeculative ad-

* 22d George III. ch. 60.

adventurer muſt be content with the refuſe of ORDINARY GOODS. "*Chintzes*" might, in a few inſtances, rival the Iriſh linens, and but in a few, as they could never be adapted to the neceſſities of life, like linens of all kinds, and could only be worn as a luxury: their admiſſion here might be a ſubject of regret to England, from the decreaſed demand for cottons, which, when manufactured, are ſent over there to be ſtamped, in order to render them ſaleable, and returned to us in that perfect ſtate, at a conſiderable coſt to the Iriſh manufacturer, and a conſequent burden on the conſumer. So that the importation of Chintz and Callico, circuitouſly thro' England, renders theſe articles a burden on the Iriſh ſubject, and an object of great wealth to England. The demand for them with us, excites the ſpirit of contraband, to the injury of the revenue, and every Indiaman that puts into Cork, under cover of refit, ſmuggles them with advantage to himſelf, and a conſiderable loſs to the community at large.

But I cannot admit, that "*moſt of the other* "*Aſiatic manufactures would be found inimical* "*to our own.*" TEA and CHINA will always

always in uſe; the former is now grown almoſt a neceſſary of life, and the demand for the one, muſt, in a great meaſure, depend on the conſumption of the other. The Company are obliged to purchaſe immenſe quantities of tea from the Dutch, to ſupply their cuſtomers; and the great cauſe of VOUTE AND CO. AGAINST THE UNITED COMPANY, lately decided in favour of the Dutch merchants, relative to tea ſold by them, to the enormous amount of ONE MILLION, (and that, tea of a VERY ORDINARY quality) evinces how invidiouſly England denies the Iriſh a traffic, from which her enemies derive the ſinews of war to inſult and annoy her. In China ſhe has no territory whatever, and enters the port of Pekin merely as a FREE MERCHANT, yet ſhe arrogates to herſelf a privilege ſhe can claim only as a boon, and preſcribes a limit to her Iriſh ſubjects, which neither nature or conqueſt ever drew. Had the Iriſh ſpeculatiſt a right to trade, the *ordinary* tea, which fell to his ſhare, after the regular trader had been ſupplied, would in no wiſe injure the Britiſh merchant, but, on the contrary, ſupply the national demand at home, (chiefly directed to the moſt ordi-

nary

nary of that commodity) fine teas would ſtill be the monopoly of England, he muſt purchaſe them there, and a drain would be ſaved to the ſtate of, at leaſt, A MILLION. China could never rival the potteries of England; the variety and cheapneſs of their wares, better adapted to neceſſary œconomy, would be always a recommendation, and a priority of purchaſe, ſtill ſecure to England all the finer ſort. Upon the whole, I muſt join with the able politician, before quoted, and conſider with Mr. Grattan, this prohibition from Aſiatic commerce, as an "awful "interdict;" a removal of which, ſo far from "*draining Ireland of thoſe reſources ſhe* "*ought to cheriſh and preſerve for the improve-* "*ment of her lands, and ſupport of her riſing* "*manufactures,*" would employ many uſeful hands, give bread to thouſands, and train a robuſt crew to the ſervice of the Britiſh navy. Before I diſmiſs this part of the ſubject, (which the learned author in queſtion, with his uſual facility, has "*examined,*" and diſmiſſed as an "*axiom,*" taking for granted as he proceeds, and "*ſuppoſing*" all that makes for him) let me reſt a moment, on a ſuggeſtion which neceſſarily preſents itſelf

itſelf here—the want of employ, which grinds thouſands, and the mode in which they might be employed, cloathed and fed, beſides adding, more than HALF A MILLION to the nation.

From the diſparity in wealth and advantages, already attempted to be proved, and which, indeed, ſeems ſufficiently ſelf-evident, there exiſt about TWO MILLIONS of inhabitants in the three kingdoms, who but half live, and NINE-TENTHS of them in Ireland and Scotland; the latter, before the UNION, drove a great trade with her fiſh on the Baltic, which not only ſupplied her with proviſion, but gave employment to the people, and riches to the land; ſince that æra, theſe fiſheries have fallen to decay, for want of encouragement; the Dutch have almoſt entirely engroſſed them, and but a very inconſiderable number of buſſes are now fitted out from her ports in the ſeaſon. Ireland ſcarcely enjoys this privilege—the Banks of Newfoundland ſwarm with Engliſh, French and Dutch veſſels;—Spain, Portugal, and even this "*ill-ſtarred*" country, pay annually for fiſh great ſums

of

of hard money; and the merchants of Dartmouth draw inexhauſtible treaſures from this bounteous element. We are not denied the goods of fortune, but we are debarred their enjoyment through poverty and want of encouragement; banks, abounding with cod and turbot, ſkirt the North-weſt coaſts of this iſland, and the herrings, conſtant in their return, in ſhoals, re-animate the ocean; the people are in a ſtupor, and bounty denies its quickening invigoration; no ſpirit of emulation is infuſed by premium, and the landholder, familiarized to their diſtreſs, ſees the peaſant ſtarve, nor plans a mode to mitigate his ſufferings. By employing them in the fiſheries, the poor of Ireland would both help to maintain themſelves, and ſave a drain to the nation, principally compoſed of Catholics, who, during particular ſeaſons, are forbidden by the tenets of their religion, the uſe of fleſh, to moſt of them a rarity at all times; FISH, therefore, as the great nutritious ſubſtitute preſents itſelf, which, by being properly cured and ſtored, during thoſe periods of ſelf-denial, would prove a double bleſſing, at once ſupplying food and money. Allowing, therefore, to Ireland, ONE-HALF of the

the miſerable deſcription before alluded to, (no unreaſonable or exaggerated calculation I truſt) ONE THOUSAND * laſt per week, might be conſumed more than there is at preſent, which, at 10l. per laſt, would be more than HALF A MILLION—a conſideration which ſhould ſtimulate every lover of induſtry and his country, to promote this uſeful branch of traffic.

"*Imperial Rome*" is quoted in ſupport of an UNION, and becauſe ſhe united the ſeveral "*principalities*" and "*kingdoms*" ſhe had CONQUERED, to her empire; her "*principles of policy and wiſdom*" are to be adopted here; as if the concernments of the preſent government bore any analogy to a period ſo remote, and a conſtitution ſo oppoſite; though, perhaps, the likeſt that can be found at that æra, to our happy conſtitution in the preſent. Let her declenſion warn thoſe who produce her policy as a ſtandard of

* A Laſt is twelve barrels;—the high duty on ſalt, and the difficulty of procuring barrels, have proved a great obſtacle to the Scotch fiſheries.—Let Ireland look to the advantages ſhe has over Scotland in theſe articles, and profit by it.

of perfection, how factious and designing measures may overthrow the proudest states; she CONQUERED the Privernates, and then UNITED with them, as I have before stated; but they threw off her yoke as burdensome and oppressive, and rebelled.

The examples of "*Germany, France and* "*Spain,*" have been quoted; I admit, that all these kingdoms were once divided. Germany, at this day, is split into separate electorates and principalities, which are the constituents of one great power;—France was once separated into twelve states, which are now incorporated into one kingdom; Spain into many more, ten of which are, at present, incorporated; England herself was divided into seven kingdoms, now united; Scotland, too, had once two distinct monarchies, and Ireland many. To account for the causes and progress of these revolutions, would take up much time, and throw little light on the present subject; similarity of continent, conformity of language and customs, the frequent hostile inroads into each other's territories, or, as in Britain and Ireland, the invasion of them by greater powers

powers might have firſt cemented them; but whether a fœderal Union, or, indeed, any union at all, is "*practicable*" between two monarchical governments, or whether there can be any ſure guaranty between two nations, where the one is ſuperior to the other in riches, population and an extenſive commerce; the examples of Spain and Portugal, of Sweden and Denmark, fully confute. The former two (one of which has been quoted as an example the other way) were ſubject to the ſame monarch (Philip the Second)—and though Portugal obtained moſt advantageous conceſſions from Spain, yet, in the reign of Philip the Fourth, ſhe revolted. and elected the Duke of Braganza in his ſtead. Sweden and Denmark were united under one ſovereign, but the Swedes broke off, and choſe Guſtavus for their king. From ſuch examples as theſe, no fair concluſion can be drawn; nor can it be ſaid, with truth, that "*the effects of ſuch a* "*maxim confirmed the ſtrength, or made the* "*harmony of either perfect and laſting.*"

I deny, that the "*effects of the* SCOTCH "UNION *proves its wiſdom, or in any wiſe* "*pleads*

"*pleads for a like junction with Ireland.*"—Immediately after the battle of Worceſter, in 1651, the Parliament named Commiſſioners to treat with Scotland of an UNION, and in March following, twenty of thirty-two ſhires, and thirty-five of thirty-ſeven boroughs agreed to it, and afterwards the reſt concurred: but they were not in a ſtate to reſiſt, and Cromwell's fiat produced what reflection, unawed and uninfluenced, had never aſſented to. It was an UNION OF SUBJECTION,—and Scotland, had ſhe been in a ſtate to reſiſt, had never yielded to it: much blood had been ſpilled on both ſides before it could be completed, and the * inveterate enmity of that nation to the Engliſh, enjoined in the moſt ſolemn manner by one of their kings, left the latter no reſource, but by conqueſt, to unite them. I muſt, therefore, reject ſuch an authority as inconcluſive; for though the native Iriſh might have been conquered, the Engliſh Coloniſts, who ſettled here, could not. It was neceſſary, upon the acceſſion of James of

* 2d Buchan. lib. 8th, fol. 86. Robert Bruce left this rule for his ſucceſſor—"*Never to make perpetual amity with England.*

of Scotland, to the crown of England, to unite the jarring intereſts of both nations, till then under ſeparate monarchs, and divided by ſeparate intereſts; by * "*aboliſhing* "*all hoſtile laws, and the memory of all hoſtili-* "*ties on the borders,*" and by an act of "*re-* "*ciprocal naturalization.*" Neceſſity firſt ſuggeſted the meaſure, and policy confirmed it; but I never ſaw a Scotchman who did not execrate the UNION. By † aboliſhing feuds, Cromwell beat down the hereditary dignity of the Caledonian chieftain—ſnapped aſunder the venerable tie that bound the vaſſal to his lord, and bereaved him of that numerous train of warlike dependants, warmly attached to him by fealty and obligation, and ready to attend his fortunes through every clime and every viciſſitude. The haughty ſpirit of the nobility, proud of their anceſtry, and inured to dominion by knight's ſervice and vaſſalage, too frequently broke forth in adverſe broil and inteſtine commotion; it was, no doubt, prudent to ſuppreſs them; but in ſtraining the ſyſtem by too violent a tenſion, Cromwell broke

* A. D. 1604. † A. D. 1654.

broke that vigorous ſpring, which gave life and energy to its action. Before the UNION, the Scotch were a valiant and reſpected people—now the contempt of thoſe to whom they were ſacrificed. Scotland has loſt, by the UNION, her national character and importance;——

Loſt the rental of every man of 500l. a year and upwards.

Loſt the dignity of her ancient nobility, which now, like the Glaſtonbury thorn, blooms only with the ſplendor of a day, and that day ſeptennial.

Loſt her fiſheries, her trade and manufacture; her inhabitants and money, and every thing that could render her great and happy, as a commercial or warlike nation. Now, what has ſhe obtained in return?—* ONE rich town, to the ruin of her whole inland country. Before the Union, the ſhire of Fife, alone employed as many ſhips as now belong to the whole kingdom; ten or twelve

* Glaſgow.

twelve towns, which lie on the South coaſt of that province, had, before this unfortunate period, a very conſiderable trade, and NOW—"*quis talia fando, temperet a lacrymis?*" —they are little better than an heap of ruins. Their trade with France great, on account of the privileges they enjoyed from that nation—vaniſhed; their commerce with Spain, and on the Baltic, which commenced during the wars with England, fallen to decay; their money was ſpent in England; clothes, furniture and equipage muſt be bought in London, and * manufacture and tillage neglected, preſented a ſcene of deſolation and famine too miſerable to be related:—even in this age of plenty and refinement,—in this great and glorious adminiſtration, the cries of the Scotch Highlanders, half famiſhed, and "*ready to periſh*," reached the Parliament; even from the Orkneys, the voice of complaint, in ſhrill anguiſh, floated on the gale, and humanity, appalled, ſhudder-

* "The wool of Scotland fell very conſiderably in its price, "in conſequence of the Union with England, by which it was "excluded from the great market of Europe, and confined to "the narrow one of Britain." Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. 1. page 240.

ed with horror. Yet loud was the murmur, " that † an evening ſhould be ſpent" " in " hearing of their ſufferings"—" let the drones " periſh;—" *they toil not, neither do they ſpin*;" and ſee " *the lilies of the valley how they flou-* " *riſh.*"—Degrading inſult!—on a nation impoveriſhed—robbed of her trade—plundered—ſtripped and exhauſted. What may not Ireland expect from ſuch unparalleled bounty and benevolence, ſhould the genius of the land forſake her, expoſed to the tauntings of her betrayers?

Scotland, previous to the UNION, was, with reference to England, in population, as * ONE to FOUR;—in wealth, as ONE to SEVEN;

† This expreſſion was HUMANELY uſed in the Engliſh Commons, on preſenting a petition from the Highlanders, to afford them ſome ſupport after a recent dearth.

* In the year 1656, by Cromwell's aſſeſſment, (as appears from an ordinance paſſed by him and his council, on the 12th of April, 1654, and confirmed two years after, for uniting England and Scotland) ſhe was ſubject to 6000l. per month, as her quota, when 70,000l. was levied on England, and her repreſentative was 30 to 400;—Ireland paid 9000l. and yet ſhe returned but a like number with Scotland; this aſſeſſment was reckoned equivalent to 2s. in the pound:—ſo that they then valued the lands of England, at 8,400,000l. thoſe of Scotland at 720,000l. and thoſe of Ireland at 1,080,000l. which reduced the

VEN; and, I now much doubt, whether, as to inhabitants, ſhe can come up to ONE-FIFTH of the proportion, drained of her people by emigration and abandonment.—Since the year ſeventeen hundred and ſeven, the increaſe of trade has raiſed the value of lands in England, and the loſs of it in

 Scot-

the RENTS of Scotland to ſomewhat more than an eleventh of the Engliſh—and thoſe of Ireland to an eighth. Vide, Scobell's collection, page 400—and alſo the like aſſeſſment levied in 1660.—Vide Davenant, vol. 1ſt, page 32. It appears, likewiſe, from the Commons' Journal, vol. 7th, page 627, &c. that the regular and permanent INCOME of England, at that time, was about 1,517,274l. 17s. 1d.——Scotland yielded 143,652l. 11. 11d.—and Ireland 207,790l. which reduces the eſtimate of proportion, nearly to the foregoing calculation.

The whole value of gold and ſilver which circulated in Scotland before the UNION, cannot be eſtimated at leſs than ONE MILLION, ſterl.—In the preſent times, the whole cannot be eſtimated at leſs than TWO MILLIONS, of which that part which conſiſts in gold and ſilver, moſt probably, does not amount to HALF a million. Vide, Smith's wealth of nations, vol. 1ſt, page 294. Which clearly ſhews her decreaſe of wealth ſince the Union. Suppoſing Scotland to have had, before the Union, 1,500,000 inhabitants, and England 6,000,000, which gives the former ONE-FOURTH in population, as I have aſſerted; and NOW to have 1,850,000 to 8,000,000, the quota Dr. Anderſon has given her in his ſurvey of the Hebrides, (in my mind an over-ſtrained eſtimate to aid his inferences) ſhe appears to have gained but 3,500,000, whilſt England increaſed 2,000,000—ſo that in the proportion, (each advancing) ſhe has, in fact, loſt conſiderably:—more than ONE-FIFTH in leſs than a century.

Scotland, has lowered her rents conſiderably, impoveriſhed the tenant, and diſabled him from paying his landlord in any other way than with grain, which has occaſioned great loſſes and inconveniencies; ſo that, now, from the beſt calculation I can make, the WEALTH of that nation can hardly amount to ONE-HALF of the proportion. A melancholy proof of the ſingular ADVANTAGES ſhe gained by the *Union*; and this "*view*" of one here, which its ſurveyor has taken in "*perſpective*," I truſt, will always continue ſo—DIMINISHED and REMOTE, through the medium in which he has meaſured its "*practicability*" and advantages.—In a government, like ours, the chief aim and primary concern to men of independent fortunes, is political influence, which they muſt have, to acquire the notice of adminiſtration; this the independent landholder can have, only from his reſpectability in his county; if he abſents himſelf from it, the elector will forget him, and a more active or enterprizing competitor will ſtep into his borough: every man, therefore, who aims at influence or popularity, will live in his county, ſpend a large part of his income there,

there, and enrich it by his preſence and largeſs. Suppoſe, Ireland ſends * THIRTY PEERS, and NINETY COMMONERS to Parliament, the Peers can as well canvaſs in London, as at home, and, indeed, the majority of them have already made it ſo; the number of Commoners will be ſo ſmall, that none but men of † FIFTEEN HUNDRED a year, or upwards, can procure a ſeat there; the leſſer gentry will deſpair, and quit a kingdom deprived of wealth and patronage. The Scotch have high notions of national pride, and cannot always ſupport their conſequence in England; their affection for their nation and each other, has been held up as their reproach; if paternal eſteem could not prevent their emigrations, what can

* The equivalent I have drawn for the repreſentative of Ireland, in making it DOUBLE that of Scotland, is deduced from the meaſure of her wealth and population being ſo.

† The income I allot to each Iriſh Senator (I truſt) will be thought UNDER rather than ABOVE a fair concluſion, as Members of Parliament are, at preſent, obliged to have 600l. a year to entitle them to repreſent a county; and if their numbers ſhould be ſo conſiderably reduced, their qualification muſt be augmented, to ſecure them a ſeat; as the man of greateſt fortune, no doubt, from many cauſes, would prove ſucceſsful.

can be found ſufficient to reſtrain the Iriſh from ſo direful an alternative, either to embrace famine and ſtarve, or relinquiſh the land of their forefathers and ſeek an aſylum in ſome more favoured ſoil? Is it this "*boaſted* "*ſupport*" from "*ſome of the greateſt proprietors* "*of eſtates here, who are proprietors of great eſtates* "*in England*, that is to keep them at home?" No; THEY have uniformly abandoned their tenantry to oppreſſive ſtewards, and deſtructive rack-rents:—there are many, it is true, "*who are Members of both Houſes*;" but is there one of them not obliged to attend ſome place of profit here, who does not flutter round the ſplendor of the Engliſh miniſter? Is there one of them—nay, even thoſe who have declaimed moſt violently for the intereſts of this nation, who has not transferred his perſon, his fortune, his family—to London, there to reſide—there to expend it,—and there live the reproach of his country, and execration of his countrymen? Yet, "*the ambition of the orator, in an extended* "*and increaſed audience, is ſtill more gratified,* "*and his vote becomes of greater influence,* "*and aſſumes greater conſequence?*" This I deny. What!—do we ſend repreſentatives into

into Parliament to declaim? Are the intereſts of the nation to merge in the ſplendor of a dazzling trope, or the graceful turn of a period? Becauſe a full houſe animates the political actor, and "*his ambition is gra-*" *tified*" by a crowded "*audience*,"—muſt he, of neceſſity, have "*greater influence and greater conſequence?* Abſurd and frivolous aſſertion!—both "*influence*" and "*conſe-*" *quence*" muſt be leſſened, in proportion to the poverty, weakneſs and dependance of his conſtituents, and increaſe, in a duplicate ratio, with his power, his patronage and connections.—What intereſts ſupport him? What votes can he influence? What property has he in either kingdom? What wealth in the funds?—are the leading queſtions of both government and oppoſition in their inliſtment of him. His eloquence is often froth, and his oratory a ſtumbling block, to the advancement of their meaſures; and ſo great has the "*dignity of the* "*Engliſh legiſlature*" been held, that ſome of our Peers have ſettled there, and abdicated their ſeat in the Iriſh Lords, for a place in the Britiſh Commons!—"*The King* "*has the power to meet his Parliament where-*

"*ver*

"*ver it is moſt convenient.*"—Be it ſo. The Engliſh monarchs have always been fond of fertilizing this country with their royal preſence, and hiſtory has given us a few inſtances of that honour conferred on us;—too great to be frequently granted! James, indeed, transferred his perſon, without leave of Parliament, to his Iriſh ſubjects, and they repaid the compliment with their blood, a trifling ſacrifice to the line of Stuart! but Ireland is too BARREN to welcome the embraces of the Houſe of Hanover to her "*bo-*" "*ſom,*" and its deſcendant too ſacred to be expoſed to the dangers of ſuch an expedition. Let SHEBA bring rich offerings, and humble herſelf before the "LORD'S ANOINT-" "ED," and let her—"*deputies*" await the bounty of him whom ſhe has choſen, be ſuch the deſign on the face of the "*medal-*" "*lion,*" (in lieu of the "*ſketch*" our author has "*drawn*") and, at its baſe, this motto:

"*Tros Tyriuſque mihi, nullo diſcrimine agetur;*"

My people are as one—I will make both nations happy. But, on its reverſe, let there be engraven this ſupplicating Princeſs, in chains,

chains—her ſceptre broken—her diadem trodden in the duſt—robbed of her choice gifts, and followed by diſcord and famine—and under it affix this ſad memorial:

"*Sic tranſit gloria mundi:*"

Thus periſh every hope, and every expectation. Such a memento ſhould be ſuſpended at the breaſt of every friend to this country, and its moral engraven on his heart; not to be flattered by fair words, or dazzled by a diſplay of viſionary advantages, into a relinquiſhment of all that is dear and valuable, or forego the ſubſtance for the ſhadow. I admit, "*the King has a power to meet his "Parliament*" wherever he chooſes, and it is right it ſhould be ſo; but whether it is for the advantage of his Iriſh ſubjects, to be governed by a needy or deſigning ſubſtitute, whoſe rapacity may impoveriſh the nation he preſides over, followed by minions and hirelings, the refuſe of their country, who inceſſant gape for the rewards of their ſervility, is not a queſtion now to be conſidered. I profeſs, I allude not to our preſent Viceroy—he, no doubt, means well, and

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the people around him may have virtue and ability, but a General Governor here, without a Parliament to controul him, would be as dangerous a deſpot as any Turkiſh Baſhaw in the zenith of his authority. "*The place* "*of deliberation,*" it is true, "*is of little* "*conſequence,*" and whether the Parliament meet at St. Stephen's or St. Paul's, at College-Green or Rutland-Square, matters little; but when, by a legiſlative transfer, its form is changed, and its members diminiſhed, the moſt ſerious and alarming apprehenſions muſt preſent themſelves of a rapid decline, and ſpeedy annihilation to the body-politic, ſo diminiſhed and exhauſted.

If the IRISH ABSENTEES draw annually out of this country, "*ſeven hundred thouſand pounds,*" and that all theſe ſplendid donations, ſo loudly reiterated, have been inadequate to ſtop the rapid drain; if a Free Trade, Repeal of Poynings' Law, and Appellant Juriſdiction, could form no tie to attach the Peer and Commoner to their duty; what calamities may we not expect, when the allurements of a Parliament winter are removed, and the concourſe that flocked to this capitol from all parts, attracted by pleaſure or profit, is trans-

ferred to the proud metropolis of England. But who are to pay the expences of a journey to, and living in, London? By the old law of Parliament, every Member was entitled to receive wages from the place he repreſented, to bear his charges, and the Members of the long Parliament, voted themſelves * FOUR POUNDS a man per week. Now, if in thoſe days, when the value of money was ſo much leſs than it is at preſent, and every neceſſary of life ſo much cheaper, that ſum was charged on the elector, to maintain the elected; in the preſent epoch, it cannot be thought an unconſcionable amercement on the freeholder to allow his repreſentative, in a diſtant land, where every ſpecies of living is ſo much dearer than at home, from the increaſe of population and wealth, and where the dangers of a channel voyage, a long and fatiguing journey, demand ſome counterbalance in generoſity, (ſo circumſtanced) TEN POUNDS PER WEEK. Upon an average, the ſeſſion laſts SIX MONTHS in twelve; ſo that, ſuppoſing Ireland to ſend NINETY Members to the lower Houſe,

* Vide Walker's Hiſtory, Pref. page 3d.

Houſe, the charge, on the elector, would amount to 23,400l. I have, before, laid it down as an eſtabliſhed principle, that none but men worth AT LEAST FIFTEEN HUNDRED a year, could procure a ſeat in the Britiſh Senate; and in all reaſonable probability, more than one-half of the number would poſſeſs double that ſum annually;—ſuppoſing the mean rate of expenditure, therefore, to be ONE THOUSAND POUNDS by each individual, as eſtimated collectively,—ſome expending more, and ſome leſs, it would amount, in the groſs ſum, to 90,000l. which, with the addition of the 23,400l. would make the loſs of 113,400l. to this country—a ſum, together with the drain of thirty repreſentative Peers, and that already occaſioned by the abſentees, amounting to nearly a MILLION.—A trifle, to be ſure, but every trifle is of magnitude to a poor ſtate, which may be the means of denying to thouſands of wretches, the ſmall portion of fuel which mitigates the ſeverity of chill winter; the ſcanty morſel of fleſh-meat, which once a month, perhaps, makes the Sabbath a more welcome feſtival; or the frize garb, which ſhelters the rough peaſant

from

from the ſtorm, adminiſters to decency, and ſwells the gladdened heart with tranſient vanity.

The "*opinions*" of Mr. Williams, and thoſe "*notions*" he "*imbibed*" in "*the early* "*periods of his life*," ſeem amply to accord with the time and place where he firſt adopted them; they are the children of his youth, and can we blame him for ſupporting them? At "*Oxford*," he had the game in view, and he is now "*the firſt to ſtart it*:" If the chaſe has led him to Ireland, may I not be at liberty to run it down, and profit by his faults?

Indeed, my good Sir, you have followed a "*chimera*," which will neither gain you profit or eſteem; and this "*indiſſoluble knot* "*of three*," which you and Lord Bacon thought ſo impoſſible to looſe, would here prove a GORDIAN one, and yield only to the ſtroke of the ſcymetar.

Though I have read our author's "*collateral reply to the Dean of Glouceſter*," and find many things therein unfounded and

open

be an infringement of prerogative. Yet we granted TWENTY THOUSAND SEAMEN in the hour of her diſtreſs, and was that held as an infringement? We ſupport a large military eſtabliſhment, and paſs an annual mutiny-bill—can that be called encroachment? The Eaſt India Company, a body of merchants! command an army of 60,000 men, and diſpoſe of the lives and fortunes of 30,000,000 of their fellow-creatures; this is, no doubt, under the controul of the ſovereign; but they, in fact, exerciſe all the acts of majeſty, and has that ever been called au infringement of prerogative?—Is there any man living romantic enough to ſuppoſe, that, by a SEPARATE FLAG, Ireland means to ſend a GRAND FLEET on foreign expedition—to Porto-Bello, or the Eaſt, and vauntingly paſs laws to quiet theſe poſſeſſions? What is meant by an INDEPENDENT FLAG?—A flag, uncontrouled by the firſt Lord of the Admiralty; a flag, to aid England in extremity, and protect our own merchantmen, expoſed in time of war to the enemy, and to the ſlippery faith of a remote department far more dangerous? This cannot be called a "*contention for*

"*anarchy*,"

open to animadverſion, relative to Ireland, his Reverend antagoniſt is able enough to protect his own aſſertions, and I ſhall forbear to ſtep in, obtruſively, to "back his cauſe." He will find a powerful abettor in Mr. Grattan, to foil off the "*degrading term*" applied to his conſtruction of the "NAVIGATION ACT," and the Parliament of this country, if they have remaining virtue enough, will place, ſhortly, in their juſt point of view, thoſe boaſted "*benefits*" and "*advantages*" Ireland has gained by it.

The firſt ſection of "*ſupplementary obſervations, explodes the fallacy of a late doctrine, relative to a diſtinction between the flags of England and Ireland.*" Who ever thought of invading the ſovereignty, in its undoubted privileges? The King alone, can levy war or make peace, but who equips his armaments, and who maintains his fleets?—The MAJESTY OF THE PEOPLE; whoſe vote granted and whoſe money ſupports them. Can England grant away the money of the Iriſh?—If ſo, why have we a Parliament? Can that Parliament equip a fleet? No—we have no ſeparate Admiralty, and that would be

" *anarchy*," it is an " *independency*," indeed, we aim at; but it is an independency of fortune, which will neither make Ireland a " *republic*," or a " *kingdom without a king*— but a flouriſhing appendage to royal prerogative, and the ſtrength of the Britiſh nation.

I am as averſe as any one can be, of infringing the liberty of the ſubject, or leſſening that portion of FREEDOM, which nature and the ſtate beſtows. To tax the abſentees —I agree would be a ſpecies of " *tyrannic* " *power*," and tend to alienate rather than reſtore. So averſe in all ages has man been to controul, that I have heard of him, who, forbidden under penalty of death, to quit thoſe walls, whoſe limits he had not paſſed for almoſt a century, ſickened and died at this diminution of his free agency, and voluntarily ſuffered the penalty of diſobedience, without the crime of it. But tho' I admit the obſervation in its full extent, I cannot agree with the remedy propoſed, " *that the Bank of England ſhould give credit* " *to Ireland, for* HALF A MILLION, *on na-* " *tional ſecurity*;" in my mind, it is worſe than

than the diſeaſe. Though the PRESENT drain is admitted to be "*ſeven hundred thou-*"*ſand pounds*," annually; and its increaſe to be doubled by an Union; half a million is fixed as a counterpoiſe to ſo many calamities! I ſay, no equivalent could be formed; "*freſh channels*" would be opened by it for emigration, and no "*ſource*" left to convey wealth or proſperity. The ſubject, almoſt exhauſted on this head, leaves no room to expatiate further on conſequences ſo remote, and inferences ſo ſpeculative; to aſſign a quota in exchange for what MIGHT happen, and by anticipation, cut off all means of future redreſs, is taking every aſſertion as well founded, and already granted. "*From the length of time Ireland has been* "*raiſing a capital of one million and an half,* "*and her preſent commerce*," an "inference" is drawn, that "*it would be half a century* "*before ſhe could reach another fourth*;" and, therefore, this BOUNTIFUL CREDIT of HALF A MILLION, is to be ſo very ample a compenſation for a "*a few great landlords reſi-*"*dent in England*;" and, by a MIRACULOUS MULTIPLICATION and vivifying ſpirit, "*give* "*life*" to "*commerce, encourage manufacture,*

" *and bring population to our villages!*" HALF A MILLION do all this for THREE MILLIONS of inhabitants!——Why, Mr. Williams thinks the Governors of the Bank of England, to be CONJURERS, of which I am ſomewhat doubtful, or elſe he has read ſo much of holy writ, that his head is turned from the good things of this world, and all his thoughts are of the LOAVES AND FISHES.—How elſe could he infer, that half a million would compenſate for a drain, he has himſelf ſtated to be SEVEN HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS? How elſe could he ſuppoſe, that a commercial nation could be ſo benefited by SUCH a ſum, when a few individuals in his country, are worth nearly double that capital?—But his arguments are all ſuppoſitions.

I have before ſtated the increaſe of the hereditary revenue of Ireland, to have been greatly in favour of the preſent century, under every commercial diſadvantage; and yet, we are told, it would be " *half a cen-*
" *tury before ſhe could reach another fourth*" of a very ſmall capital. So, England is willing to take advantage of our poverty, and purchaſe

chaſe out our intereſt! Is that her "PRIN-"CIPLE?"—"DATE OBOLUM BELISARIO." Rather let Ireland hug her poverty, than drive a trade on ſuch a "CONFIDENCE," or hang upon a faith that proffers no ſalvation.

Are theſe the returns to Ireland for all her wounds,—for fighting England's battles, for her blood, and for her treaſure? Denied a livelihood, and turned adrift a wretched mendicant. "*America!*"—methinks England ſhould not name America—"*treated*," indeed, "*as an infant, nor allowed to provide* "*for herſelf*," and, like an Infant Hercules, ſhe ſtrangled, in their birth, both "*jealouſy* "*and prejudice*," theſe "*diſcordant ſerpents*," ſo emphatically called in the firſt ſection. It is true, ſhe "*cannot miniſter to the luxu-*"*rious faſhions of Europe*;" and happy is it for her, "*poverty diſables her to pay for their* "*enjoyment*;" but who ſhall fix limits to her trade, or ſay, her government is defective? Her fruitful vallies, high woods, and rich paſtures, will bring wealth, and enable her, in time, to remit to Ireland, ſomething more than "*barter*" for luxuries. She want-

ed not for ſpirit in her debaſement, and who can conclude ſhe will be deficient in induſtry, when exalted? Her * population has increaſed, and is increaſing rapidly; and, from ſuch an augmentation, we may infer, the "*moſt deciſive mark*" of her future wealth and proſperity. "*From ſuch teſtimonies of* "*abortive ſpeculation*," we are gravely told, "*Ireland is to be taught to look to her own na-* "*tural and permanent reſources*:" Was it then for the purpoſe of enlarging her commerce, that America grew refractory? In my mind, the object of her "*ſpeculation*," as it is called, was INDEPENDENCE, and ſhe has obtained it; it cannot, therefore, be called "*abortive*." The motives that urged her to ſeek for redreſs, were heavy grievances; and, after ſo long and expenſive a ſtruggle for freedom, is it extraordinary, that "*her capital ſhould be ſunk to a very low ſtand-* "*ard?*" If "*Ireland once thought to have* "*found*

* The moſt deciſive mark of the proſperity of any country, is the increaſe of the number of the inhabitants. In Great Britain, and other countries, they double in not leſs than 500 years; whereas, in America, it has been found, that they double in twenty or twenty-five years. Vide Smith's wealth of nations, vol. 1ſt, page 71.

"*found freſh ſources of wealth in the indepen-*
"*dency of America*;" theſe "*hopes*" are not yet entirely "*fruſtrated*;" it is admitted, that ſhe has "*rich paſtures*"—that ſhe "*cul-*
"*tivates the growth of hemp and flax*," and has "*eſtabliſhed manufactures*," particularly of "*iron*." The Weſt India Iſlands frequently ſuffer conſiderably, from hurricanes and earthquakes, and a general dearth, in conſequence of theſe dreadful viſitations, is ſure to enſue: the proviſions of America, then find a ready admiſſion, and an advantageous market; their rum and ſugar muſt be a profitable exchange, and Ireland can have no objection to trade for ſuch a barter. Innumerable are the productions of America, neceſſary for our convenience, and towards forwarding our various manufactures, which Ireland can never arrive at;—tobacco, logwood and cochineal, &c. &c. in exchange for our linen, woollen and hardware, &c. &c. can theſe be ſaid to "*militate againſt*
"*the Iriſh?*" Or is it poſſible to conceive that the American victualling trade, in Europe, can rival the Iriſh? Or that the Iriſh, in the Weſt Indies, can rival the American; the neighbourhood of the latter, muſt always render

render her, in that caſe, a monopoliſt, in time of emergency; and the ſhort paſſage and eaſy freight, enable her to diſpoſe of her proviſions there, on more moderate terms than Ireland, who, by an oblique inſinuation, has been held up as an abettor of the American war, becauſe "*ſhe thought to* "*have found freſh ſources of wealth in her in-*"*dependency!*" and, therefore, "*taught*" by ſuch leſſons, ſhe is adviſed to look at home; and, by a "*firm and natural Union of com-*"*merce with England, improve her home pro-*"*ductions*"—to be SUBSERVIENT and HUMBLE, and to take what England is willing to grant her!—"*Engliſh hops*" for "*the ſalt* "*proviſions of Ireland*"—her "*woollen cloth*" for our "*linen*"—a BARTER truly! To uſe our author's expreſſion, and from his own mouth condemn him,—"*how is it poſ-*"*ſible, that, from ſuch* DRY EXCHANGE "*any actual benefit can accrue to Ireland?*"—We are to be proſcribed from the woollen manufacture, to enlarge the ſtaple of England—"BEING DESTITUTE OF COALS" neceſſary "*to perfect it.*" Mr. Williams ſurely has never been in Ireland, or if he has, he is no "deep obſerver;" this country abounds

abounds with coal-mines, and an inland navigation gives them a cheap and ready carriage to the capitol. Indigence alone prevents our raiſing them, and, I believe, it has never been urged by the Iriſh—that want of coal, was a cauſe of failure in that manufacture, and thus, it is ſaid, to introduce a miſerable pun, that the "SALIENT "*and recipient wants of each kingdom tend to* "*unite them*;" as well might he ſay, that the "*ſalient and recipient wants*" of FRANCE and IRELAND tend to unite THEM—for we WANT their wine, and they WANT our linen!

To bid an everlaſting adieu to our author, let me aſſure him, no perſonal enmity or ill will has urged me to make thus free with him; for I know him not. He has given his name and addreſs to the public, and they are at liberty to canvaſs his doctrines:—That they are injurious to this country;—that they are inimical to its liberties, and deſtructive of its free conſtitution, I truſt, I have, in ſome ſort, EXPLAINED; if proof could be applied to a matter of controverſy, and that my private conviction could weigh with

with thoſe who have conſidered the ſubject, or who may read this pamphlet, I ſhould not heſitate to affix the TERM to my arguments. The alarming tendency of the meaſure propoſed, alone induced me to combat it; its "*practicability*" ſeemed big with ruin, and preſented to my mind, a ſcene of blood and rapine, which would "*unchain*" tne "*monſter of war*," unſtring the harp of Ierne, and blaſt the ſcarcely blooming laurels of my country.

FINIS.

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